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MEDIÆVAL

POPES, EMPERORS, KINGS,

AND

CRUSADERS;

OR,

GERMANY, ITALY AND PALESTINE,

FROM A.D. 1125 TO A.D. 1268.

BY MRS. WILLIAM BUSK,

AUTHOR OF

"MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE JAPANESE," ETC.

VOL. II.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

BOOK II (CONTINUED).

CHAPTER IV.

FREDERIC I.

PAGE

Frederic's Second Italian Expedition.—Rebellion of Milan.—The Emperor in Lombardy.—Siege and Submission of Milan.—Second Roncaglia Diet.—Laws then promulgated.—Dissensions with Adrian.—Second Milanese Rebellion.—Siege of Crema . [1158—1160] 1

CHAPTER V.

FREDERIC I.

Death of Adrian.—Double Papal Election.—Council of Pavia.—Hostilities in Lombardy.—Surrender and Doom of Milan.—Affairs of Germany.—Henry the Lion and the Slavonians—His Quarrel with his Bishops. — Negotiations touching the Schism. — Polish Affairs. — Renewed Struggles of the Slavonians . . . [1159—1163] 32

CHAPTER VI.

FREDERIC I.

Affairs of Lombardy.—Frederic's Third Italian Expedition.—Affairs of Sardinia—Of Germany.—The Schism.— Henry II of England and Alexander III.—Würzburg Diet.—Affairs of Papacy and the Sicilies [1163—1166] 63

CHAPTER VII.

FREDERIC I.

PAGE

Frederic's Fourth Expedition to Italy.—Lombard League.—Frederic and Pascal at Rome.—Disasters.—Affairs of Germany.—League against Henry the Lion—His formidable power.—State of Schism.—Archbishop Christian in Italy.—Siege of Ancona . [1166—1174] 90

CHAPTER VIII.

FREDERIC I.

New Anti-Pope.—Henry II and Schism.—Affairs of Italy.—Siege of Ancona.—Failure of Henry the Lion.—Emperor's defeat at Legnano.—Closing of the Schism . . . . . [1168—1178] 115

CHAPTER IX.

FREDERIC I.

Fall of Henry the Lion.—Affairs of Germany.—Affairs of Italy.—Death of Alexander III.—Lucius III.—Peace of Constance.—Marriage of the King of the Romans.—Urban III . . [1178—1186] 141

CHAPTER X.

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

BALDWIN III.—AMALRIC.

Baldwin's Military Success.—Noureddin's Plans.—Syro-Frank Dissensions.—Egyptian Affairs.—Amalric's Accession.—His Wars.—Saladin in Egypt.—Christian and Moslem Dissensions . [1152—1169] 173

CHAPTER XI.

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

AMALRIC.—BALDWIN IV.—BALDWIN V.—SIBYLLA AND GUY.

Death of Noureddin—Of Amalric.—Dissensions of Mohammedans.—Saladin's concentration of Power.—Syro-Frank Dissensions.—Death of Manuel.—Invasion of Palestine.—Battle of Tiberias.—Loss of Jerusalem . . . . . [1169—1187] 201

CHAPTER XII.

FREDERIC I.

PAGE

Third Crusade.—Movements in Europe.—Frederic's preparations in Germany—In the Countries to be traversed.—State of the Eastern Empire.—Saladin's Preparations.—The Emperor's March.—Difficulties in the Eastern Empire.—Frederic's Progress—His Success—His Death . . . . . [1187—1190] 228

BOOK III.

HENRY VI.—PHILIP.—OTHO IV.

CHAPTER I.

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

SIBYLLA AND GUY.—GUY.

Continuation of the Third Crusade.—Preparations of Kings of France and England.—State of Sicily.—Transactions there.—State of Palestine.—Defence of Tyre.—Siege of Acre.—Death of Sibylla.—Contest for the Crown.—Origin of Teutonic Knights . [1189—1191] 254

CHAPTER II.

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

GUY.—ISABEL AND CONRAD.—ISABEL AND HENRY.

Conclusion of Third Crusade.—Arrival of Philip Augustus.—Richard's Capture of Cyprus.—Arrival in Palestine.—Capture of Acre.—Departure of Philip Augustus.—Richard's Campaigns.—Murder of Conrad.—Isabel's Third Marriage. — Rescue of Joppa.—Treaty with Saladin . . . . . [1191—1192] 284

CHAPTER III.

HENRY VI.

PAGE

German Affairs.—Peace with the Welfs.—Sicilian Affairs.—Tancred's Usurpation.—Henry and Constance in Apulia.—Seizure of Richard Cœur-de-Lion — His Captivity—Ransom — Release.—Further Negotiations . . . . . [1189—1194] 316

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY VI.

Death of Tancred.—Henry's Acquisition of Sicily.—Plots.—Henry's excessive Severity.—Affairs of Germany.—Progress in Great Schemes. —Affairs of the Eastern Empire.—Death of Saladin.—Affairs of Sicily and Apulia.—Henry's Tyranny—Death . . . [1194—1197] 354

CHAPTER V.

Political, Intellectual, and Social State of the Holy Roman Empire and Countries therewith connected, at the Close of the Twelfth Century 385

CHAPTER VI.

PHILIP.—OTHO IV.

State of the Sicilies.—Election of Innocent III — His Character — Views — Immediate Measures.—Death of Constance.—Factions in Sicily—In Germany.—Double Election . . [1197—1199] 446

CHAPTER VII.

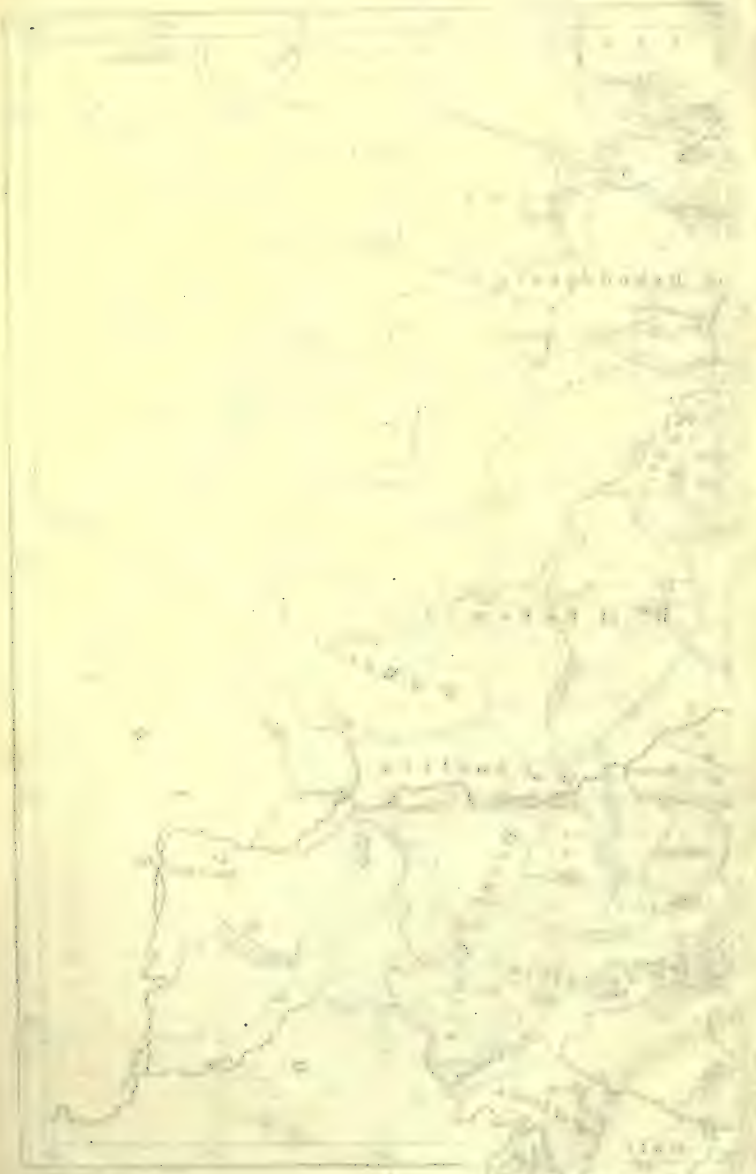
PHILIP.—OTHO IV.

Negotiations touching the Double Election.—Innocent's Decision.—Civil War in Germany. — Fluctuations of Success. — Change in Innocent's Views.—New Negotiations.—Murder of Philip [1199—1208] 469

Notes 495
Chronological Table 528

GERMANY
IN THE
12 & 13 CENTURIES.
20
22
24
26
28
54
52
50
48
46
Heligoland
Elbe
Weser
Ems
Zuyder Zee
Rhine
Meuse
Moselle
Saone
Rhone
Aller
Leine
Lahn
Main
Neckar
Danube
Lech
Iller
Inn
Reuss
Aar
Rhine
Saale
Elbe
Oder
Vistula
Warta
Netze
Brahe
Drewenz
Ossa
Pregel
Memel
Niemen
Dwina
Duna
Dniester
Pruth
Sereth
Danube
Save
Drave
Theiss
Waag
Gran
Eipel
Hernad
Sajo
Bodrog
Maros
Kokel
Aluta
Temes
Danube
Kamptz
Morava
Vistula
Bug
Dniester
Pruth
Sereth
Danube
Dniester
Bug
Vistula
Oder
Elbe
Weser
Ems
Rhine
Meuse
Moselle
Saone
Rhone
Danube
Inn
Drave
Save

30
32
34
36
38
40
BALTIC SEA
Königsberg
Rugen I.
Danzig
54
Stralsund
Pomerania
PRUSSIA
Stettin
Vistula
Stralitz
Oder
Ysetz
Thorn
Dy. of Brandenburg
Brandenburg
Posen
Warsaw
52
Berlin
Spree
Frankfurt
Oder
Magdeburg
Mte. of Lusatia
Kalisz
POLAND
Prosna
Saale
Mte. of Misnia
Elbe
Leipzig
Dresden
Breslau
Oder
Vistula
Gracow
50
Eger
Prague
Elbe
Dchy. of Bohemia
Olmutz
Moldau
Mte. of Moravia
Nabe
Isbona
March
Waag
Passau
Dy. of Austria
Danube
Presburg
48
Linz
Vienna
Salzburg
Ofen or Buda
Pest
Enns
Platten See
Inn
Salza
Mur
Dy. of Carinthia
Villach
Drau
Cty. of Carniola
46
Drau
Danube
Piave
Trieste
Mte. of Istria
Venice
Fiume
Gulf of Venice
34
36
38
John Arrowsmith.



MEDIÆVAL

POPES, EMPERORS, KINGS, & CRUSADERS.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

FREDERIC I.

Frederic's Second Italian Expedition—Rebellion of Milan—The Emperor in Lombardy—Siege and Submission of Milan—Second Roncaglia Diet—Laws then promulgated—Dissensions with Adrian—Second Milanese Rebellion—Siege of Crema. [1158—1160.

In Lombardy most anxiously was the advent of Frederic and his army expected by all Ghibelines, then groaning under the heavy yoke of Milan. That city, exulting in the previous Imperial abstinence from active hostilities, had prodigiously increased in power and arrogance since the Roncaglia Diet, at which she had deemed it expedient to attempt buying off the Emperor's wrath. She had materially improved her own means of defence; had rebuilt Tortona far stronger than before; had greatly enlarged the number of her dependent allies, and had fortified all these really subject towns. So complete was her triumph over her constant opponent, Pavia, that this, her chief rival, had perforce submitted to give two hundred of her best citizens as hostages for her obedience to Milanese commands, and acceptance of her chief magistrates from Milanese nomination. Thus had she robbed

Pavia, the former capital of Lombardy, as she had previously robbed weaker cities, of that very right, for the enjoyment of which she herself was ready to rise in arms against the Emperor, whom she acknowledged as her sovereign—the right of electing her own municipal council.

Confident in her own strength, with which she boasted that the Emperor himself shrank from collision, Milan had cruelly tyrannized over Como and Lodi. Rebuilt and fortified as, under Imperial protection, these had been, from the citizens of the last-named town she required an oath of fealty; and they took it, reserving in that oath their allegiance to the Emperor. The rage of the Milanese at this reservation was unbounded, and terrified the loyal but not stout-hearted Lodesans. In vain the Bishop, the magistrates, the principal citizens, flew to Milan, and upon their knees implored mercy. In vain two of the most anti-Imperialist cardinals represented to the Milanese the injustice of so unlawful a requisition, warning them in the name of the Pope, in the name of the whole Church, against compelling the Lodesans to perjure themselves by breaking the oath already taken to the Emperor. The Milanese, incensed at the pertinacious fidelity of the Lodesans to their allegiance, fell upon them with overwhelming numbers, and a virulent fury to which their previous tyranny and violence had been child's play. They destroyed the Lodesan crops, vineyards, plantations, sacked the restored city, expelled the inhabitants, razed the walls, burnt the houses, leaving the whole a mass of ruins; and thrust into dungeons all who, confined by illness, or trusting to the compassion of neighbours, really their countrymen, still lingered in their birthplace. The exiles sought refuge at Cremona and Pizzighitone; but many perished upon the road, many after reaching their asylum, from the effects of their sufferings. The cry for redress, for the intervention of Imperial authority, resounded throughout Ghibeline Lombardy.

As harbingers of this much needed authority and redress, had the loyal greeted the Imperial Commissioners, Palsgrave Otho, a stalwart warrior, the very impersonation of mediæval knighthood, and Bishop Reginald, equally, perhaps, the impersonation of the best mediæval

ecclesiastical statesmanship. The warrior is known to the reader by his exploit against the Tyrolese rebels; the prelate (1) is described as a small, fair man, cheerful and friendly in demeanour, high-minded, upright, sagacious, eloquent, indefatigably persevering, and devotedly attached to the Emperor. That is to say, he is so described by Ghibelines; for Guelph writers lay craft, dissimulation, and inordinate ambition to his charge.

These unlike, but happily associated deputies, as their first step, possessed themselves of the Castle of Rivoli, which, commanding the valley of the Adige, secured to the Emperor his line, both of march and of subsequent communication with Germany. They next visited Verona, now loyal, where they were received, as in other loyal cities, with the highest honours. At Cremona they held a provincial Diet, which was attended by the Archbishops of Milan (often at variance with the city) and of Ravenna, by fifteen bishops, many nobles, and the consuls of several places. This was the concourse that had alarmed the Pope into placability. Thence they proceeded, by Ravenna and Rimini, towards Ancona, where the Constantinopolitan general, Paleologus, was professedly raising troops in order, conjointly with the German Emperor, to carry on the war against the King of Sicily; but at the same time secretly intriguing with all the inhabitants of the eastern and southern coasts of Italy, to effect the reannexation of the maritime districts, at least, to the Greek Empire.

In the vicinity of Ravenna the Imperial Commissioners encountered a party of Romagna grandees, followed by their vassals, and headed by Radevico da Traversara, the principal nobleman of Ravenna. They were of the number of those amongst whom Byzantine cabal had been successfully active, and the meeting proved hostile; when in spite of their numerous and armed escort, Otho immediately captured them. The Ravennese, after obliging them to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor, he admonished to be for the future more steady in their fidelity, and dismissed, in compliment, possibly, to their loyal German archbishop. The other Romagnotes he compelled, besides taking the oath of allegiance, to pay

a heavy ransom ere he released them. Then, having assembled some forces, he and Reginald proceeded to Ancona, rejected alike the plausible allegations or evasions, and the large pecuniary offers of Paleologus, and finally expelled him and his Greek troops from the city, the last foothold of the Eastern Empire in Italy.

Whilst his harbingers were thus happily preparing the way for him, Frederic had entered Italy at the head of his army. The first hostilities occurred at Brescia, a city in close confederacy with Milan, but seem to have occurred accidentally, rather than from any preconcerted plan of determined revolt. The Bohemians, who formed the vanguard of the army, fancying themselves, perhaps, in an enemy's country, plundered some Brescian villagers; and the Brescians, believing themselves both in perfect security within their strong walls and certain of immediate reinforcements from Milan, instead of appealing to the Emperor for redress, attacked with superior numbers the small body of marauders, and routed them with great slaughter. The King of Bohemia hastened to avenge his loss, and quickly drove the Brescians to seek the shelter upon which they relied behind their walls; whilst the Emperor, coming up with the main body, ravaged the territory of the offenders, and threatened the city itself. The rash citizens repented of their temerity, paid a heavy fine, gave hostages for their future good behaviour, and, equipping their contingent, gave it to reinforce the Imperial, in lieu of the Lombard army.

At Brescia, Frederic was joined, as well by his other German divisions, as by the Italian Ghibelines, nobles at the head of their vassals, consuls of their townsmen from cities that were either loyal or jealous of Milan, such as Pavia, Parma, Cremona, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and a few more—or frightened by the Imperial power, as Asti, Vercelli, Ravenna, and several Tuscan towns. An army, thus heterogeneously composed, required to be governed by very stringent laws; and the Emperor accordingly put forth a code of strict discipline, to which he required the assent of the prelates present with him, and an oath of obedience from every one else. By this code he established tribunals for the decision of all

quarrels amongst the troops, thus to obviate private feuds; and denounced regularly graduated punishments, from arrest and fines up to mutilation and death, for every offence in due proportion, from marauding and simple pillage of the peasantry, to wanton devastation, incendiarism, and every species of outrage. The proof was always to be, if possible, by witnesses, and only in their default, by judicial combat for the free, by ordeal for the non-free, whose punishment was always heavier than that of the free for the same crime.(2) Naturally the code was severe.

Still all was not ready for the commencement of operations. Frederic learned that considerable uneasiness pervaded his host touching the object of the expedition; the Germans fearing to be led against either the Romans or the King of Sicily, in the remote provinces, and the—to them—deleterious climate of southern Italy. To allay these apprehensions and stimulate the zeal of the vassalage, he assembled the leaders of all degrees, together with his best counsellors, and jurists learned in the law, in numbers as large as hall or church could contain, and addressed them in a speech that Radevicus—who extols the majesty, tempering youthful animation, which made the Emperor beloved and feared by all—has preserved. The wording may, perhaps, be the old chronicler's own, but even so it is still characteristic of Frederic and his times. It runs thus: "To the King of kings I owe high thanks, for that, having placed me as his minister at the helm of state, he has given me such confidence in your judgment and your prowess, that I trust easily to suppress whatever disturbs the common weal of the Roman Empire, of which the business rests with me, the dignity with you as the Princes of that Empire. The evils of war are too well known to me to allow of my beginning hostilities out of ambition, arrogance, or cruelty. It is Milan that, by her insolence and audacity, has torn you from your patrimonial hearths, from the arms of your families. You will undertake this war, therefore, neither in cupidity nor in cruelty, but for the sake of peace, that the audacity of the wicked may be coerced, and the fruits of good discipline enjoyed. Should we tamely endure the insults Milan has offered us, instead of being lauded for patience and

clemency, we should be blamed for negligence and indifference to our duty. Ministers of justice, I call for your suffrage; injustice we do to none, but ward off from ourselves, and herein it beseems you to assist me with your utmost energies. You will therefore, I well know, make every exertion, cheerfully bear every privation, rather than suffer this rebellious city to boast that she has found us degenerate, that she has with impunity despoiled me of rights that my great predecessors, Charlemagne and Otho, gained for the Empire."

This speech awoke the most enthusiastic spirit of martial loyalty. The clash of arms, the old German expression of approbation,(3) re-echoed through the hall, and every hearer shouted in his own mother tongue his eager concurrence in his Emperor's views. All impetuously clamoured to be led to the attack. But in those chivalrous days, notwithstanding the seemingly almost reputable existence of robber-knights, and all that is related of violence and outrage, respect for law was a prevalent feeling, at least since the before-mentioned revival of the study of the system of Roman jurisprudence.(4) Proficiency in that study already ranked high in public esteem, and Frederic was attended upon his expedition by learned jurists, who affirmed that Milan must not be condemned unheard. Incensed as he was, the monarch, at the head of a numerous army eager to engage, admitted the justice of the allegation; and the Milanese were summoned to appear before their Emperor and the Princes of the Empire, in order to explain and, if they could, vindicate their conduct. Accordingly, a deputation of jurisconsults appeared before this kind of extemporaneous Diet, and pleaded skilfully in behalf of Milan; but the Imperialist lawyers refuted their arguments, and the assembled princes pronounced the Milanese plea invalid. The deputation then offered pecuniary compensation, which, as before, was disdainfully rejected, and Milan was formally laid under the ban of the Empire.

The army now marched to execute the sentence of the Diet, but its progress was not uninterrupted. To cross the Adda was indispensable; but the river was swollen with recent heavy rains, and the bridge at Cassano, the

only one the Milanese had left standing, was strongly guarded. The Emperor halted, and ordered the banks to be explored. The Bohemians, led by their King, discovered a place where the water seemed shallower, and boldly plunged in. They found the stream both deeper and more rapid than they had supposed; two hundred of them were swept away and drowned; and though the passage was achieved, it was through such dangers, by struggling against and surmounting such difficulties, that Vladislas knighted upon the spot the first man who presented himself upon the right bank of the river. The result of the exploit amply compensated the loss. The Milanese, taking fright at the appearance of Imperialists on their side of the Adda, abandoned the bridge, and fled to Milan. The Emperor now crossed at the head of his forces; but, even undefended, the bridge proved nearly as perilous as the ford. It broke down under the weight of men, horses, and baggage, crowding to get over; numbers perished in the river, and a considerable delay ensued ere the accident could be remedied, and the troops remaining on the left bank brought over. But Frederic turned even the delay to account. He employed it to possess himself of a well-fortified Milanese castle, named Trezzo, in which he placed a German garrison.

From this acquisition, Frederic, at the prayer of the plundered and exiled Lodesans, moved to what had been Lodi, when, under his eye, the foundation of a new Lodi was laid in a stronger site; and here, amidst the ruins of a prosperous town, devastated by ruthless ambition, amidst the lamentations of the victims of that ambition, amidst all that must needs stir up every heart against the authors of so much misery, was the Emperor visited by a new deputation from Milan. This arrogantly contumacious city, startled by the passage of the Adda and the capture of Trezzo, now sought to propitiate, if possible, her acknowledged sovereign, to apologize for, rather than justify her conduct. But time and place were against her. Her envoys, without being admitted to the Imperial presence, were dismissed by the Archbishop of Ravenna, in these words: "Ye have destroyed God's churches and the

Emperor's towns; and with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again."(5)

Dejectedly the deputation returned to Milan, to breathe their own despondency into their fellow-citizens, many of whom had already begun to shrink from the conflict they had wantonly provoked. But the rash outbreak of a young Austrian noble, Egbert Graf von Buten, who, at the head of a thousand youths as foolhardy as himself, dashed off from the army, and galloped tauntingly up to the very gates of Milan, as though expecting to carry the city by what would now be called a Cossack hurrah, served to revive their spirits and brace their nerves. For the whole burgher host thronging forth to repel the affront, fell with such immeasurably superior numbers upon this handful of hot-headed boys, that they were at once routed, and slaughtered or captured. Whether their leader fell in the affray, or being taken was tortured to death within the walls, seems doubtful; only his death being certain. The Emperor, indignant at this idle waste of life, put forth a proclamation, denouncing the pain of death against whoever should fight without orders, even if victorious.

The following day, August 6, 1158, the Imperial army amounting to 100,000 men, or perhaps 100,000 foot and 15,000 horse,(6) besides numerous artisans for machine-building, peasants for trench-digging, &c., appeared before Milan, marched with all the "Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war" round the city, and encamped in allotted posts for the siege. Frederic, well aware of the extraordinary strength of Milan's defences, the result of the recent exertions of her citizens, chose rather to trust to the slower process of a blockade than to lavish the blood of his subjects in desperate assaults. He accordingly divided his army into seven corps, under separate leaders, directing each to pitch and intrench his camp before one of the seven city-gates, so as to be able to watch it, and prevent the introduction of provisions. And whilst the Emperor thus awaited the operation of famine, the virulently resentful Pavians and Cremonese, profiting by this opportunity of avenging their own wrongs, strove to perpetuate the evils inflicted upon Milan, by destroying

not only the growing crops, but the vineyards, orchards, and olive plantations of the Milanese, whose farms and villages they burnt. The wild Bohemians, who had no such injuries firing their blood to vengeance, indulged their plundering propensities, and are accused of violently carrying off the peasant girls; whom the captor's compatriot prelate, Daniel Bishop of Prague, when he found his prayers unavailing with these members of his own flock, to procure their release, purchased, and sent, thus ransomed, home to their parents.

The Milanese strove to defend themselves by becoming the assailants. They noted the especially insulated position of the camp occupied by two of the youngest and, consequently, least experienced of the German princes, the Duke of Swabia and the Rhine Palsgrave, and attacked it by night. Troops and leaders alike were surprised unprepared, and, although despite their disorder they fought gallantly, great confusion ensued. The result must have been serious had not their more vigilant neighbour, the veteran King of Bohemia, heard the tumult and hastened to their relief; when the united forces of the two camps presently drove the Milanese back into the town. In retaliation of this attack, Palsgrave Otho one night set fire to the gate committed to his observation, which, with some adjacent wooden buildings, he burnt, but gained no further advantage. And again the Milanese tried a nocturnal sally, selecting upon this occasion for assault the Duke of Austria's camp. But the old Crusader was not to be surprised like his nephews, and they were repulsed with the loss of their favourite leader. Many individual challenges were given and accepted; and in almost all the single combats thus occurring, the Germans gained the victory. A small tower serving as an outwork was early mastered.

But it was not to such insignificant triumphs, it was to hunger that the Emperor looked for success; and hunger, thanks to the numbers who had crowded into the city for protection, was within the month working his will. Provisions had even in this short space of time reached a price beyond the means of the lower orders; and the more moderate among the higher, who thought the sufferings

of so painful a struggle a price beyond what getting quite rid of the easily evaded yoke of a distant monarch was worth, availed themselves of the growing dissatisfaction. The Conte di Biandrate, about the most considerable of the nobles enrolled amongst the citizens, who had fought valiantly in every skirmish, and was universally esteemed by the Ghibelines and the Emperor as by his townsmen, addressing the famished multitude, reminded them that Milan had always been part of the Holy Roman Empire, and as such had always owed allegiance to the Emperor, whether he were an Italian or a German: whence he inferred that there could be no disgrace in submitting to their lawful sovereign. He added that, however desirable, however glorious, were the independence, the self-government, the sovereignty for which they had striven, to struggle against overwhelming force, in fact against fate, was irrational, and could produce only utter ruin. For these reasons he exhorted them to seek a reconciliation with the Emperor, concluding with these words:—"No one can suspect me of thus advising through cowardice. No! For myself I am ready to die for my fellow-townsmen—for my city. Joyfully have I, joyfully will I, shed my blood for your safety."

This harangue wrought the effect the speaker had hoped. A negotiation was opened, and as Frederic never sought more than what he deemed just, whether right or wrong in his standard of justice, the terms of surrender were soon adjusted. These were, a confession of their guilt on the part of the Milanese, and a petition for the Emperor's mercy; the acknowledgment of the perfect independence of Lodi and Como, with the single exception of the spiritual dependence of their bishops and clergy upon the Archbishop of Milan, as metropolitan; the taking the oath of allegiance by every male Milanese between the ages of fourteen and seventy; the renunciation of all pretension to the right of coining, imposing taxes, and a few more royalties; amongst others which they were held to have usurped, the right of sporting; the rebuilding the Imperial palace which they had destroyed; the payment of 9000 marks of silver, whether as a fine or as due for the coronation progress; and, finally, the

delivery of three hundred hostages, to be selected by the Marquess of Montferrat, the Earl of Biandrate, and the Archbishop, and to include, if the Emperor so pleased, three consuls present or past. These hostages were to be dismissed when all the conditions should be fulfilled; and the Emperor in return recognised the right of the Milanese to elect their own consuls for the future, with the reservation of his own right to approve and confirm them, when coming to receive their office of consul from him.(7) He further promised to grant the allies of Milan the same terms, and not to risk disorders by permitting his troops to enter the town. In compliance with this promise, the Imperial camp was immediately removed to a greater distance from the city gates.

The next day, the 8th of September, the Milanese came forth to humble themselves before the throne of the Emperor, lay themselves at his mercy, and take the prescribed oaths. They walked in procession. The Archbishop led the way, attended by all the clergy, secular and regular, bearing crucifixes, censers, and other emblems and implements of worship in the Roman Catholic Church. Next came the consuls, municipal officers, nobles, and knights, barefoot, with their naked swords hanging from their necks. Last in the train appeared the whole male population, rich citizens, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, and the like, similarly barefoot, and with ropes about their necks. They passed along the lane formed by the army, drawn up in two lines for the occasion, until the foremost ranks reached the steps of the throne, upon which sat the Emperor, encircled by his princes, prelates, and nobles. Then Milan, in the mass, sank prostrate in the dust before him.(8)

The Archbishop first broke the awful silence, imploring mercy for his flock. The Emperor gave him the kiss of peace, with a sign to take his place amongst his ecclesiastical peers. Oberto del' Orto, one of the consuls who upon the previous expedition had, whether purposely or not, so egregiously misled the Imperial army, and who again held that office, spoke next, saying: "We have sinned against you, Lord Emperor: we have acted wrongfully, and pray for your pardon, laying our swords at your

feet, our lives in your hands." This humiliation of the arrogant Milanese awoke general sympathy, and Frederic answered: "It joys me that the Milanese at length prefer peace to war, and spare me the painful necessity of harming them. How much evil had been averted had the citizens earlier chosen this better path! I would reign over willing, rather than over coerced subjects; would reward rather than punish. But none must forget that I am more amenable to obedience than to force; that every froward fool can begin a feud, but that the issue rests with the ablest and bravest. In trust, however, that Milan will henceforth persevere in the right path, she shall experience only my clemency and favour, in lieu of my severity and power."

The ban of the Empire was then in due form revoked, and Frederic, after receiving the homage of the Milanese magistrates and nobles, gave them the kiss of peace. He withdrew his troops yet farther from the city, and all seemed harmony; though many were the heart-burnings caused within the walls of Milan by the sight of the Imperial flag floating from the cathedral tower. But of this the Emperor appears to have been unsuspicious. As though all the difficulties of his enterprise were conquered, and so puissant an army no longer wanted, he permitted those princes whose presence at home was urgently required, as the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Austria, the Archbishop of Mainz, and others of less dignity, to depart, taking with them a very considerable portion of his German forces. His next measure was to improve the efficiency of those he retained, by clearing his camp of the worse than useless camp followers, whose very admission, interfering with the observance of his code of discipline, was by it prohibited. That done, he proceeded with his diminished army to enforce submission throughout Lombardy; and, in token of his recovered sovereignty, was now crowned with the iron crown at Monza, upon which occasion he liberally recompensed the loyal Lombards.

In the month of November, 1158, the Emperor again held a Diet upon the Roncaglia plain, for the avowed purpose of permanently restoring peace to Italy, by the

publication of a code which should determine and proclaim the relative rights and duties of sovereign and subjects. This Diet was attended by twenty-three prelates, by princes, dukes, marquesses, and earls in considerable numbers, and by the consuls and other magistrates of most cities in Lombardy and central Italy, including Oberto del' Orto and, his colleague now as before, Gherardo Negro. Thither, to assist in the concoction of the proposed code, Frederic, who, if his ideas of the rights of a sovereign were somewhat despotic, never sought to usurp a prerogative that he did not believe to be lawfully vested in his high office, summoned the four most celebrated professors of jurisprudence from the school of law at Bologna. They were named Bulgaro, Martino Gossia, Jacopo, and Ugone da Porta Ravegnano. And with these Professors or Doctors of Law,(9) lest their doctrines should be thought to savour of partiality or undue influence, the Lombard cities were permitted to associate as assessors or assistants, twenty-eight lawyers selected from their municipal councillors. A striking instance of the degree to which the republican aspirations of the cities had, in their search for legal grounds upon which to rest their pretensions to self-government, promoted legal studies. This committee of jurists and the subject of their deliberations the Emperor announced to the Diet, by a speech, in which he assured the assembled Estates, more especially the Italian Estates of the Empire, of his desire to rule by law rather than arbitrarily.

That Frederic Barbarossa herein spoke his real sentiments need not be questioned; but neither had he to apprehend modern constitutional restrictions from Bolognese professors. The mere recollection that the system of civil law taught at Bologna bears the name of the Emperor Justinian, induces the certainty that it must have assigned authority to the sovereign far more absolute than any feudal monarch dreamt of exercising. One of the four doctors, indeed, Gossia, is said to have advocated the right of mankind to liberty, but his three colleagues adhered to Justinian's principles. The decision given was, that to the Emperor alone belonged the right of granting principalities; of appointing, with

the assent indeed of the people, consuls, judges, and all other city magistrates and officers; and that the other rights and royalties, of which his predecessors had suffered themselves to be lawlessly robbed, he ought to resume. These royalties included the imposition of taxes, tolls of every description, and fines; confiscation of forfeited, and occupation of lapsed fiefs, coining, mines, salt springs, mills, fisheries, chases, free quarters for his army upon the Coronation Progress, with many others of less moment, which it were tedious to enumerate. It may, however, be worth noticing that one main cause of Milan's discontent was the restraint upon the citizens' enjoyment of the pleasures of the chase,—the exclusive privilege, it will be remembered, of the nobility, save as their villeins may, by the assistance they rendered in its exercise, have shared in it.

This decision appears to have very unexpectedly extended the rights of sovereignty, but without exciting any idea of resistance to the opinion of the learned expounders of law. The Archbishop of Milan, instantly upon hearing it, offered the restitution of all rights and privileges usurped by his predecessors; and his example was followed by nearly all the similarly circumstanced Italians present. Frederic, overjoyed at the prospect of such an accession to the ever-exhausted Imperial exchequer, promised in return, to confirm to the actual possessors, whatever royalties had been fairly granted by any of his predecessors.

The Emperor next proceeded to legislate, with the advice of the Bolognese professors and the concurrence of the Diet, upon some matters of scarcely minor importance. He so restricted and regulated the right of private warfare, determining as well the circumstances that should authorize, as the mode of waging it, that his laws, could he have enforced the observance of them, had been a great step towards the annihilation of this highly prized right itself, towards superseding feudal by civil law. He ordered quarrels between cities or vassals to be referred to proper tribunals, which he instituted where deficient, and imposed heavy fines, both upon the transgressors of this law, who would not submit their differences to these tribunals, and upon such tribunals as should fail to do justice

between the contending parties; and he prohibited, under similar penalties, all confederations and conspiracies. He further prohibited: 1st, all division of duchies, margraviates, and counties, sanctioning such a parcelling out only in minor fiefs; 2dly, the transfer, whether by gift or bequest of any fief to the Church, without the consent of the immediate feudal superior—the first attempt at restricting gifts in mortmain;[10] and 3dly, the disposal, in any way, of any subfief, without the consent of the mesne lord. He further commanded the reservation, in every oath of fealty, of the allegiance due to the Emperor.

It may perhaps chill the sympathy of modern cosmopolite philanthropists with the Lombards' struggle for liberty, to learn that, of all these laws, the restrictions upon the right of private warfare was the most offensive to the cities. Their anger was not, however, betrayed at the moment. All present swore, without any apparent hesitation, to obey all these laws; nor need this excite surprise. Many circumstances tended to moderate the Guelph movement. The growing democratic tendency of the towns had, in fact, made the higher classes very generally Ghibeline, even such as were most indisposed to the sovereignty of a German emperor. Nor had the Popes as yet so decidedly placed themselves at the head of the Guelphs as to counteract this sort of *caste* inclination. On the other hand, not even the boldest and most republican cities seem to have hitherto dreamt of advancing any pretension to independence of the Empire and Emperor. What they really desired was to enjoy the rights and privileges of the great feudal nobles. Frederic, moreover, now allured them to loyalty, by generally granting them, in consideration of an annual rent, impost, or tribute, those royalties which they had usurped, and of which they were in actual possession. The loyal sentiments of the higher classes he sought to confirm and recompense by divers favours, some of which may appear inconsistent with feudal pride; as, *e. g.*, he decided in the case of the nobles of Asti, that they should not derogate from their nobility by taking part in mercantile transactions.

Whilst these legislative labours were in progress, and

even prior to their commencement, Frederic, assisted by the Bolognese jurists, had sat to administer justice. But such was the incredible number of prosecutions and disputes brought before him, that he declared a whole life would be inadequate to decide the quarrels of such intolerable law breakers as the Italians. He accordingly, by the advice of these, his legal counsellors, devolved the ungrateful task upon especial judges, to be appointed by himself or his Imperial Vicars. As a security against any unfair partiality on the part of these judges, it was ordered that they should never be selected from the native place of either plaintiff or defendant. The title of *Podestà* was given them; and this is the first mention that occurs of these singular magistrates,(11) always aliens to the town over the tribunals of which they presided, to which they were not allowed to bring a single member of their family, or in which to choose a wife, or to accept or give a dinner; and who, appointed merely as judges, gradually drew the whole authority into their hands, though still subjected to the same restrictions.

The Emperor rewarded the services of the Bolognese doctors, and testified his value for the learning that had proved so useful, by raising the high school of Bologna to the rank of an University, which he endowed with various privileges. Among these were, to all its members exemption from military duties, to the professors judicial authority within the University, and permission to the students, even in criminal cases, to choose whether they would be tried by the ordinary courts of justice, or by their own academic, and, it might be supposed, partial tribunal. It is to be observed, however, that the professors found this prerogative of exercising judicial authority over their students so burthensome, that they speedily resigned it to the municipal magistrates; and, until the second quarter of the next century, never even sought to resume it.

The Emperor's grand object seemed now to be attained. The turbulent Lombards—whom, as really constituting the kingdom of Italy, he deemed more peculiarly his subjects—appeared to be brought into their proper position. Venice, the most nearly independent state in northern Italy, had previously acknowledged his sovereignty, by

paying her allotted contribution towards the Coronation Progress. Her rising rival, Genoa, had indeed resisted his demands, and fortified herself; but a short negotiation ended in her acknowledgment of the Imperial sovereignty, whereupon the Genoese consented to pay a sum of money in lieu of military or other service, and took the oath of allegiance.

Frederic next endeavoured to enforce those rights, now recognised by the Roncaglia Diet as the Emperor's, over the estates of the Church and the dominions of the Normans, as far as Calabria; thereby, of course, offending both the Pope and the King of Sicily. William the Bad was just then in a position that enabled Adrian to place some reliance upon his support. Maione's brother, Stefano, had lately gained a brilliant victory over the Greek fleet, making the commander, Michael Ducas, with other personages of consequence, his prisoners; and this disaster of his army had determined Manuel to conclude a thirty years' truce with the King of Sicily. The pacification was as important to Adrian as to William; for, thoroughly aware that the Romans were well nigh as much gratified as the Emperor himself with the legal decision assigning, in some measure, universal sovereignty to the monarch, who derived his supremacy from theirs, he knew they were little likely to prove tractable; but felt himself strong in the deliverance of his royal vassal and ally from foreign war, and consequent ability to afford him support. Frederic, pursuing his triumphant career, further irritated the Pope and provoked the enmity of many vassals, greater and lesser, as well as of many cities, by the investigation which he at the same time set on foot respecting Countess Matilda's heritage. Although he had granted that heritage with the title of Duke of Spoleto to his uncle Welf, he had been able to give the grantee possession of only a very small portion of that princess's dominions. During the troubles that had prevailed since her death many towns had emancipated themselves from all mesne suzerainty, becoming free, viz., immediate vassals of the Emperor—if the word vassal may, for want of another, describe this condition of towns; and separate districts had been usurped by divers princes, prelates, and

nobles; the Pope leading the way. Hence it was now often as difficult to ascertain what had and what had not formed part of those dominions, as to distinguish her legally lapsed fiefs from her allodial possessions.

Sardinia and Corsica were the portion of this heritage respecting which the chief contest arose between Adrian and Frederic. The Emperor claimed them doubly, both as fiefs that had lapsed to the Crown upon Matilda's dying childless, and in his character of heir to her heir, Henry V; and he demanded her heritage for his uncle and vassal, the Duke of Spoleto, to whom he had granted, if not actual possession of these islands, at least the suzerainty over them. The Pope, whilst he denied the Imperial suzerainty over any part of the property of the Church, Sicily and Apulia included, claimed Sardinia and Corsica as such upon two grounds; the one, that they were comprised in the gift of either Charlemagne or Lewis the Pious, or in both; and the second, the Papal right of sovereignty over all lands recovered from misbelievers: hence he argued that Matilda had held these islands in vassalage of the Popedom, not of the Empire, wherefore, upon her decease, leaving no child, to the Popedom and not the Empire had these fiefs of hers lapsed.

To these great subjects of contention, others of less moment—some personal, some regarding the relations, rights, and prerogatives of the Church and the Empire respectively—were superadded. The Archbishopric of Ravenna, just then falling vacant by the death of the German Anselm, Guido di Biandrate, son of the Conte di Biandrate, was, by the clergy and laity of the province, lawfully, if through Imperial influence, elected to the see. But Guido was a subdeacon of the Roman Church, and neither the members of the Roman clergy, nor the ecclesiastical officers of the Roman see, could, without the Pope's express permission, accept office or dignity in any inferior church or diocese. Adrian professed a value for his subdeacon, that made it impossible, even at Frederic's earnest entreaty, to part with him; and he refused the indispensable permission. Upon grounds diametrically opposite he refused to sanction the election of Frederic's able and active chancellor, Reginald, to the then vacant

archiepiscopal see of Cologne. Then reviving some of the pretensions to which the Calixtine Concordat had put an end, he insisted that the Italian bishops, though they swore allegiance to the Emperor, should neither do him homage nor be obliged to receive his envoys into their palaces. To the first of these pretensions Frederic replied that if the Italian bishops would, according to the proposal of Pope Pascal II, renounce their temporalities, he would never claim homage from them, but that whilst they held fiefs of the Empire, they must, for those fiefs, do homage to the Emperor. To the other demand he said that he would never require his envoys to be received into episcopal palaces standing upon purely episcopal land, but that from any palace forming part of a fief of the Empire he could not suffer them to be excluded.

The irritation generated by these dissensions was further exacerbated by petty annoyances. The Pope, in writing his complaints to the Emperor, besides giving his own name precedence, adopted for himself the sovereign formula, the plural, *we*, whilst addressing his Imperial correspondent in the singular, *thou*. The Emperor vindicated his equality by employing in his answer the same sovereign formula, which Adrian angrily resented. ([12]) In his wrath he again sought to excite the German prelates against the Emperor, and addressed an epistle to the three archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne (then not yet vacant), in which he asserted the supremacy of the Church over all temporal princes, and dilated upon the humble position of the German monarchs, until Pope Leo III bestowed the Empire upon Charlemagne. The answer of the archbishops showed him that from the German hierarchy, the members of which both dreaded and gloried in the power and greatness of the Emperor, nothing was at that time to be hoped. Frederic was, on the other hand, encouraged to persevere by congratulatory addresses from the anti-Papal Romans.

In fact, the relative position of the parties was in many respects reversed since the days of Henry IV and Gregory VII; and it was to Lombardy, not Germany, that the Pope was now to look for support. Hence the illusory phenomenon of Mediæval Popes appearing as the

friends and champions of liberty. Those Popes used the republican aspirations of the Italian cities as they did the monarchial aspirations of the German princes, to support and advance the interests of the Papacy, by weakening the Empire, in utter indifference as to the consequences to the aspirants of either class; if, indeed, the most ambitious of the pontiffs did not contemplate the subsequent subjugation of those same cities when they also should be weakened by severance from the Empire, by insulation, and by enmity amongst themselves. This change in relative position Adrian speedily discovered, and concluded an alliance with Milan for the maintenance of their several pretensions against the Emperor, which inspired both contracting parties with confidence. For Milan was again incensed against her liege lord, both parties again being in some measure in the right and as much in the wrong, whilst each asserted, and probably believed, that the other was wholly the aggressor. Of the origin of the quarrel a curious account is given by Vincentius Pragensis, a priest of Prague,(13) who appears to have accompanied the army in the train of the Bishop of Prague, the benevolent redeemer of the Lombard peasant girls. He states that, prior to the breaking up of the Diet, Frederic consulted the Milanese Consuls as to the means of holding the Lombard cities in subjection; to which they, thinking only of rival towns, not of their own, answered: "By appointing their magistrates yourself, as the doctors of law have decided to be your right." The Emperor, whilst rewarding the fidelity of Pavia, Lodi, and Cremona, with grants of liberty to elect their own magistrates, acted upon the advice of the Milanese Consuls with respect to other cities, including Milan. In the Ghibeline cities his *podestàs* and consuls were cheerfully received; not so at Milan. The Milanese averred that the Emperor, upon their submission, had specifically conceded to them the right of electing their own magistracy, in reliance upon which concession they had, at the usual time, elected new consuls, of whom they required the Emperor's approval. He injudiciously, whether or not legally, affirmed that the laws subsequently enacted by the Roncaglia Diet to which the Milanese Consuls, as representatives of their city, had

sworn obedience, and upon which laws they had advised him to act, superseded the terms granted Milan at her surrender; and he sent his former commissioners in Italy, Archbishop Reginald and Palsgrave Otho, with a third associate, Earl Gozwin, to that ever-refractory head of Lombardy, there to appoint and instal consuls. The existing magistracy opposed their operations;(14) the Imperial Commissioners persevered, perhaps offensively in manner; the business soon became public, and the populace took the settlement into their hands. They rose tumultuously, rushed to the abode of those whom they esteemed deputed usurpers, broke their windows, and threatened their lives, with loud yells of "Death! death!" In vain Biandrate, with other men of sense, who were usually influential, interposed. When did an excited multitude listen to reason? Nothing could appease their fury; and the Commissioners were glad, through the help of the baffled mediators, to escape with life from Milan.

The fugitive commissioners hastened to report their discomfiture to the Emperor. He was at that moment holding a Diet at Bologna; amidst the effervescent loyalty temporarily there produced by the pride and gratitude of the schools, for their exaltation to the dignity of an university; surrounded by embassadors from France, Constantinople, and Hungary, sent apparently to congratulate him upon his success, in reducing mutinous Italy to obedience. So situated, he was not likely to show himself peculiarly tolerant of insubordination and insult. He addressed a vehement speech to the Diet, calling upon all present to assist in chastising Milan. All blamed the violence of the Milanese, and expressed sympathy with his resentment. The Bishop of Piacenza, to whose lot it fell to reply in the name of the whole assembly, fully concurred in the general indignation; at the same time reminding the Emperor of his avowed desire to rule not arbitrarily, but by law; he prayed that now, as upon the former occasion, the Milanese might be heard prior to being condemned. To this prayer Frederic at once assented, and the Milanese were summoned to appear before the Diet. Again the Milanese obeyed, sending a deputation, at the head of which they placed their Archbishop. But the prelate disliking the office of

endeavouring to vindicate conduct which he himself might possibly, as rebellious, deem criminal, withdrew from it by the way; and his colleagues appeared without him before the Emperor and the Princes. In satisfaction of the conduct of their fellow-citizens, they pleaded the terms granted them at their surrender, and the harsh treatment they had since received from the Emperor, who had released Monza and some other places from subjection to Milan, and had dismantled her dependent ally, Crema, as the penalty of an assault upon Cremona. The pleas were rejected, the acts complained of being all in conformity to the laws published and sworn to at Roncaglia; by which the Diet, like the Emperor, held that the terms previously granted to Milan were superseded, since these laws the Milanese had, through their consuls, bound themselves to obey. It is alleged by Ghibeline historians, that the Milanese deputation, rendered desperate, then said: "We did indeed swear to obey those laws, but we never engaged to keep our oath:" (15) and they add that the indignation provoked by this open avowal of perjury was unbounded. Nevertheless, no immediate step either in chastisement or in revenge was taken; time for reflexion was allowed; another day being appointed upon which the Milanese deputation might again appear, and either amend their plea, or express their repentance. Even when upon that day no deputies presented themselves—they seem to have gone home, either for fresh instructions, or in anger, and to mark their rejection of the Diet's decision—another delay was granted, another day for their appearance appointed.

Upon this second day, the 16th of April, 1159, the Milanese again failed to appear; and the Diet temporized no longer. The refractory city was now unhesitatingly laid under the ban of the Empire, as the due punishment of contumacious non-appearance—which always seems to have been held the highest of crimes,—of riot, and of treason. This sentence at once consigned the persons of the inhabitants to slavery, their possessions to plunder, and the town they inhabited to destruction. The Milanese, who were perfectly aware of what must necessarily be the consequence of their pertinacity, had not awaited this final sentence, but proceeded to hostilities before it was pronounced.

They had fallen suddenly upon the Castle of Trezzo, and, by an attack undreamt-of in the midst of profound peace, surprising the German and Italian garrison, which the Emperor had placed there to secure the Cassano bridge over the Adda, easily mastered the place. The latter portion of the garrison might have made a more desperate resistance had they anticipated the fate to which their countrymen had doomed them. All the Lombards, all the Italians found there, were massacred, as traitors to the common cause; the Germans, as the natural subjects of the Emperor, were merely detained as prisoners of war. The castle itself, in which, as a secure stronghold, Frederic had deposited most of the money paid him by the Lombard cities, was plundered, burnt, and completely destroyed.

But if Trezzo was successfully surprised, Frederic was not. He had foreseen the impending insurrection, though where the first blow would be struck he could not foresee, and had already despatched messengers to Germany for reinforcements. He had written to his Empress, whom he had left at home, to join him with as large a body of vassals as she could collect; to his Lion-kinsman to hasten his promised expedition to Italy; to his uncle Welf and many princes and nobles, calling upon them to support their sovereign according to their respective means. But these reinforcements were as yet beyond the Alps, and for the moment he was unequal to repressing rebellion. He marched indeed for Trezzo, upon hearing that the direction taken by the Milanese forces seemed to threaten it; but the place was lost long ere he could reach it, and again he withdrew to Bologna.

The Milanese, emboldened by success, by the retreat of the Emperor, and by their alliance with the Pope, now, in conjunction with the Cremascans, attacked New Lodi. But they no longer had the advantage of surprise; the citizens not having forgotten their treatment when vanquished, defended themselves stoutly, and repulsed their assailants. The Brescians, whom subjection had not rendered loyal, having in like manner made an inroad into the territory of Cremona, were in like manner repulsed and driven away. When Frderic learned these new outrages upon the faithful portion of Lombardy, he again marched,

again to arrive too late; but this time the disappointment was agreeable; his arrival being only too late because he found the rebels already defeated. He, nevertheless, judged expedient to strengthen the fortifications of New Lodi; and whilst this work was in progress, remained in the immediate vicinity for its superintendence and protection. During this time he ravaged the lands of the Milanese, partly in chastisement of their rebellion, and partly to impede the victualling of Milan, which he proposed to besiege when in sufficient force, and again wished to reduce rather by famine, than at the cost of the blood of his more loyal subjects, or even that of the rebels.

Whilst the Emperor lay encamped near Lodi, two incidents occurred, which are viewed under very different aspects by Ghibeline and by Guelph writers. A man of uncommon size and personal strength, really or seemingly insane, visited the Imperial camp, where he became the butt and laughing-stock of the soldiery; still but too commonly the treatment to which those unfortunates who have lost the distinctive characteristic of human nature are liable from the uneducated. Being apparently harmless, he was suffered, for their amusement, to wander about freely. But one morning, Frederick coming alone out of his tent, which was pitched upon the bank of the Adda, met this seeming maniac, who, no longer harmless, instantly sprang upon him, and endeavoured to fling him into the river. Frederick resisted vigorously, whilst shouting for help. But the man was either a maniac, having the strength of madness, or had been chosen for his bodily prowess; and those who flew to the rescue of their sovereign, found him upon the ground still struggling with his gigantic antagonist, upon whom, overpowering him by their numbers, they at once inflicted the fate to which he would have subjected the Emperor. The whole army was firmly convinced that the man was an assassin, employed by the Milanese to rid them of their sovereign and conqueror; and that he had feigned madness in order to facilitate the execution of his nefarious purpose. The ground of this persuasion, beyond the well-known inveteracy of the Milanese against Frederic, are nowhere clearly stated; and the Guelphs, affirming the man to have been really

insane, would fain represent his death as an act of brutal vengeance on the part of the Emperor; though even if the assailant were mad, it was surely a venial impulse of passion in those who saw their beloved monarch's life endangered by a powerful maniac, to fling that maniac into the river. They do not appear to have waited for orders.

Subsequently to this attempted regicide, an anonymous letter was received, announcing the visit of a Saracen or Spaniard—meaning, it may be presumed, a Spanish Moor—a Milanese hireling, whose personal appearance was minutely described, who would offer for sale wares so impregnated with poison, that to touch them with the bare hand would be death; and who would, moreover, be provided with an envenomed dagger, with which to insure the success of the mission, in case the Emperor should refuse to examine his merchandise. A man answering to the description presented himself, and was of course seized. Whether any experiments were tried upon his goods or his dagger, does not appear; but the Emperor promised him a full pardon if he would confess; threatening him, in case he denied the imputed crime, with torture to extort confession, followed by death. The reader who shudders at such arbitrary and cruel proceedings, must recollect that such was the usual course of criminal prosecutions in those days, and as late as the eighteenth century, ay, even in the nineteenth, was not altogether obsolete upon the Continent, where confession must precede execution, and the burthen of proof—the proof of a negative!—is still very commonly thrown upon the accused. The man asserted his innocence, and derided all menaces, averring that in virtue of his powers of sorcery, if he were executed, the Emperor's life should end simultaneously with his. It may be that Frederic had, as his enemies affirm, dreaded the supposed death-fraught trinkets, or more likely the dagger, whether envenomed or not; but at the prisoner's threats of sorcery he laughed; nor did such a boast tend to weaken the general belief in his murderous intentions. He was ordered to be executed, and died steadfastly denying the criminal design laid to his charge. The guilt or innocence of the Milanese in this last, perhaps in both affairs, can be judged only by the degree of credit to which

the anonymous letter was entitled—such letters were not as common then as now. But after an interval of eight centuries, what means can there be of forming an opinion upon this question, further than that it is difficult to conceive any motive for anonymously writing such intelligence, if false. There could be no need of exasperating Frederic against Milan, even supposing any one to have an interest in so doing. However, whether false or true, these accusations are equally illustrative of the feelings, opinions, and habits of the age, harmonizing well with the ever-recurring suspicions of poison. And indeed the fictions of history are, at least to the psychologist, well nigh as instructive as its truths.

Germany, meanwhile, had been preparing to obey her Emperor's call. Of the manner in which the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria had employed the delay allowed him, the accounts are not very clear. That his power was already very formidable, and daily increasing, is indisputable; not so how far his ambitious projects were as yet matured, or even developed in his own mind. It should seem, however, that the accession of Waldemar to the crown of Denmark had induced him to suspend, at least, his progress in the North; since he had professedly contracted a friendship with his royal neighbour; cemented by the betrothal of an infant daughter of the Lion's to the infant heir of Denmark. What is certain, is that, when he was about to redeem his plighted word by leading his vassals, at his Imperial kinsman's summons, to Italy, Waldemar paid him a visit, and requested him to check the acts of piracy committed by his tributary Slavonians upon the Danes; and, according to report, at the same time offered him a sum of 1000 marks, either as the price of such complaisance, or as an Imperial vassal's contribution towards the Emperor's Italian wars. Henry promptly complied; accepted the money, if offered to equip his forces, summoned his tributary or vassal, Niklot Prince of the Obodrites, to attend him, and, when he appeared, enjoined him in Waldemar's presence, both to abstain from all piratical attacks upon the Danes, and in proof of his intention to abstain, to deliver up to him his ships of war. Niklot offered no opposition to these commands of his acknow-

ledged feudal superior; he promised obedience, and at Lübeck, delivered over a number of piratical vessels to the Danish officers sent to receive them. The Earl of Holstein, who was about to march for Italy with his mesne Lord, the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, required and obtained from Niklot, a similar engagement to respect his lands and vassals, during his absence.

Henry now proceeded to assemble his forces; Beatrice was occupied in like manner; but it was Whitsuntide ere either of them was ready to move. They then united their troops, and in company they crossed the Alps. The Duke of Spoleto was detained some weeks longer in Germany, after which, he too led a body of vassals over the mountains, and joined his two nephews. Divers nobles, separately or conjointly, obeyed the Imperial summons. Thus recruited, the Emperor began active operations; but, instead of at once forming the siege of Milan, as might have been expected, he contented himself with further ravaging the territories of that city, at the head of half his army, whilst he sent the other half to besiege Crema. This last step was taken at the urgent prayer of the Cremonese, who were intent upon avenging Crema's transfer of her fealty from Cremona to Milan, and therefore offered to defray a considerable portion of the expense; which offer is represented by the Guelphs, as bribing the Emperor wantonly to destroy Crema. But it is not unlikely that Frederic may have adopted this line of conduct, if partly to gratify the loyal Cremonese, much more through a wish, by the display of his power against a less important town, to induce Milan to surrender, and thus spare him the necessity of injuring, if not actually ruining, the very gem of Lombardy.

Crema, though situate in a plain, was esteemed a strong place; and was amply supplied with water. To the east it is covered by the river Serio, to the south by the Travacone, and an impassable morass; the northern and western sides, being destitute of such natural protections, were abundantly defended, according to the system of fortification of the age, by a wide ditch, and by double walls, well furnished with towers, constructed under the direction of a celebrated engineer, named Marsilio or Marchese, who had acquired his skill in the East. Milan and Piacenza

sent succours as soon as Crema was known to be threatened; and so confident were the Cremascans in the impregnability of their city, that the women went about the streets singing in chorus songs, the purport of which was—Frederic shall be driven away ingloriously, from before Crema as was Lothar twenty-seven years ago.

The siege was, in a manner, begun upon the 3d of July; but the Cremascans stood their ground without their walls until the Emperor himself assumed the command. They were then quickly driven into the town, and the siege proceeded in earnest, not by blockade, but after the established fashion of active besieging measures in that age. Month after month the besiegers battered the walls with their engines; built their moveable towers, with parapets and loopholes, whence unexposed, the archers aimed their shafts; with machines for launching masses of stone and rock into the town: with drawbridges, for the passage of storming parties on to the walls. The besieged, directed by Marsilio, as busily constructed machines for hurling at these towers retaliatory masses of stone, that damaged their engines, crushed their parapets, and broke down their bridges; besides which offensive measures from within, they made frequent nocturnal sallies to set the hostile machinery on fire. The Milanese attempted, whilst avenging the devastation of their own territory, to relieve Crema by a diversion of the Imperial forces; to which end, they ravaged the lands of several Ghibeline cities, and attacked the cities themselves. But Frederic was not to be thus diverted from his object. He knew that under the circumstances, these attacks had little chance of success; and the common evils of war, such as these ravages, his faithful subjects must endure as their share of his toilsome as hazardous enterprise. And he persevered.

Meanwhile the exasperation between besiegers and besieged daily increased, giving birth, now to feats of heroic valour, now to acts of ferocity at which the heart sickens, but such as too often disfigure the lofty character of early times. With which party they began is another disputed point. Radevicus says, with the Cremascans; whilst Guelph writers give the following account:—Upon Frederic's leaving his camp to pay a short visit to his Empress, who

was sojourning at Pavia, or some other Ghibeline city, the Cremascans took the opportunity of his absence, to make one of their nocturnal sallies, in which they were unusually successful. The Imperialists, infuriated by their losses, and unrestrained in the Emperor's absence by his authority, decapitated all their prisoners, to play at foot-ball with their heads, in full view of the citizens upon the walls. The Cremascans, infuriated in their turn, retaliated by bringing all their prisoners on to the walls, and there hacking them to pieces; after which they hung the mangled limbs and heads outside of the external wall, there to offend the eyes of their comrades, and be further mangled by their battering engines. Whether this were an act of aggression or of retaliation, the ghastly sight greeted the Emperor, at his return, and naturally filled him with indignation; and would still have done so, even if he were informed of any previous Ghibeline outrage, that had provoked Guelph vengeance. His indignation produced one of the very few acts of real cruelty that can be laid to his charge. He gave the Cremascans notice by a herald, that henceforward no prisoner's life would be spared. In consonance with this notice, he ordered the Milanese prisoners, taken in repulsing their recent incursions, to be brought to his camp, and there hanged, together with, according to Guelph accounts, some hostages in his hands: and he likewise ordered several Cremascan captives to be affixed to the various engines; or rather it appears hostages were thus cruelly, if more rationally used, since it was not, as might be supposed, for the purpose of being projected amongst their fellow-townsmen, but as a measure of defence, as shields, to prevent the besieged from longer aiming at his engines, which they had materially damaged. For a moment the horror-stricken Cremascans stood motionless. But one of their leaders reminded them that all were alike bound to peril their lives in the great cause, and again they worked their engines, wounding, maiming, crushing their exposed fellow-citizens, the children of those fellow-citizens, and their own, amidst the shrieks of parents and friends; whilst one father is reported to have shouted to his thus exposed child. "Fear not to die for liberty, my boy. Thy mother and I will soon follow thee."

Enough of horrors! Suffice it to say that Palsgrave Otho was here, as usual, the most daring warrior, the most distinguished leader; and that during the siege, the highly valued Marsilio deserted Crema to attach himself to the service of the Emperor, and impart new efficiency to what may be called his battering train. After a desperate assault which, repulsed and renewed, was continued throughout the day, the besiegers remained at night masters of the outer wall; and now, towards the end of January, 1160, the Cremascans, despairing of relief as of ultimate success, offered to capitulate under the mediation of the Patriarch of Aquileia and of the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. The Emperor, as usual, required a surrender at discretion. They could struggle no longer, and submitted, merely protesting against being again subjected to Cremona, whose vindictive anger they dreaded. The Emperor put an end to further protest or prayer by pronouncing, then and there, what seems to have been the ordinary doom. "The Cremascans shall retain their liberty, but must quit the town with their wives and children, taking with them as much of their property as they can individually carry." To this he added, "the Milanese and Brescian auxiliaries must lay down their arms."

Twenty thousand Cremascans thus abandoned their homes, followed by their disarmed confederates; and an incident of the evacuation is related, which may serve to show that Frederic's severity was the offspring rather of his ideas of the inflexibility essential to justice, than of a harsh temper. A sickly old man from sheer weakness falling down amidst the mournfully self-engrossed throng, the Emperor sprang forward, and raising him with his own hands, led him so far apart from the crowd, as enabled him to proceed on his way unjostled.(16) It is reported that upon this occasion a woman, leaving all property behind, carried away her severely wounded husband.

The evacuation completed, the Emperor presented the arms and military engines left at Crema to the Cremonese and Lodesans, whom he commissioned to fill up the ditch and demolish the walls, a commission which they executed with right good will. The city itself he gave up to

be sacked; and in the wild recklessness of these, actually and metaphorically, intoxicating orgies of war, it was, casually or wantonly, set on fire and burnt to the ground. The Emperor, as before, returned to Pavia, but now rather to exert himself in business of a different kind, than either to celebrate his triumph, or enjoy a short repose with his consort.

CHAPTER V.

FREDERIC I.

Death of Adrian IV—Double Papal Election—Council of Pavia—Hostilities in Lombardy—Surrender and Doom of Milan—Affairs of Germany—Henry the Lion and the Slavonians—His Quarrel with his Bishops—Negotiations touching the Schism—Polish Affairs—Renewed Struggles of the Slavonians. [1159—1163.

DURING the seven months that the siege of Crema had lasted, changes and events had occurred to share the Emperor's attention with that operation. At a very early period of the siege, the Imperial camp had been sought by another embassy from the Roman Senate. Its object is not positively known; but, the Romans being again at variance with the Pope, is not unlikely to have been a renewal of the former invitation, to rescue Rome from priestly thraldom, and restore her to her proper station, as metropolis of the world, by making her the seat of his Imperial government. Frederic, whatever were the message and his answer, appointed Palsgrave Otho and the Earls Gozwin and Biandrate as his representatives to accompany the return of the Roman deputation; charging them apparently, in addition to their mission to the Senate, with some proposals to the Pope at Anagni, whither he had again deemed it expedient to retire. These proposals were, of course, designed to avert the sentence of excommunication, which, as an irresistible instrument of compulsion, Adrian was understood to be now upon the point of pronouncing against the Emperor. The negotiations with the Holy Father, whatever might be their purport or nature, were abruptly broken off by death. Adrian IV expired at Anagni, September 1st, 1159.

The body of the deceased pontiff was carried to Rome for interment; and even before the obsequies were performed, the Cardinals, twenty-three in number, appear to have been seized with apprehensions of a schism, and to have taken measures, as they hoped efficacious, for averting the danger. They entered into a written agreement that the ensuing election, to be valid, must be unanimous; that a single dissentient voice should annul it, unless the objector could, by negotiation, be induced to revoke his dissent. But party spirit ran too high to render the required unanimity possible. In spite of the compact, a double election occurred, and is, as usual, contradictorily described by the writers of the opposite factions; whilst, if the previous compact were of any value, it is self-evident that both elections were null and void. As regards the blame of the double election, that appears to be pretty equally divided between the parties; the Guelphs having been guilty of the first violation of the solemn engagement, the Ghibelines of the first intemperate conduct. The facts appear to be these.

After three days' deliberation, and vain struggles for the proposed unanimity, fourteen of the twenty-three Cardinals fixed their choice upon the Chancellor of the Roman See, Rolando Bandinelli, Cardinal of St. Mark; the very individual Prince of the Church who had so deeply offended the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire at Besançon. This choice was in itself unobjectionable, Rolando Bandinelli being a man of great abilities, who had earned the cardinalate by distinguishing himself as Professor of Theology at Bologna.[17] But against it the remaining eight Cardinals protested, as invalid for want of unanimity; and as necessarily so offensive to the Emperor, that it would be likely to produce noxious dissensions between the two Heads of Christendom. The fourteen persisted nevertheless; and in utter disregard of their signed and sealed compact, pronounced Cardinal Rolando a lawfully elected Pope. He, on his part, declined the honour tendered him; but whether merely in the established *nolo episcopari* form, or honestly, either out of respect for the compact he had signed, or because really shrinking from so arduous an

office as the Papacy must be, asserted and exercised as it was in his principles and his nature to assert and exercise it, is problematical. His party, equally regardless of his refusal as of their own plighted word, proceeded, with a sort of gentle violence, to invest him, despite his resistance, with the Papal mantle; when Ottaviano, Cardinal of Sta. Cecilia, a noble Roman and a Ghibeline, interposed, exclaiming that no man could be made Pope against his will. The remaining seven cardinals of the minority now, emulating the fault of their opponents, proclaimed Ottaviano himself Pope, and he at once accepted the nomination. A very indecorous scuffle for the Papal mantle ensued, the Cardinal of St. Mark's not choosing to part with the insignia of the Papal office that he had refused to undertake. Ultimately, the prize remained with the Cardinal of Sta. Cecilia, whom Guelph chroniclers accuse of having, with his own hands, violently stripped it from his rival's shoulders. The doors of the conclave were then thrown open, and a crowd of armed Ghibelines poured in, greeting Ottaviano—whose Roman birth made him the favourite of the Roman people and clergy—as Pope. He assumed the name of Victor IV, and was forthwith installed in the Lateran; whilst his opponent, who entitled himself Alexander III, and his Cardinals, were detained in captivity. In this state things remained for twelve days, during which the ardently Guelph family of the Frangipani laboured to excite the populace against Victor IV, who was warmly supported by the Senate. The Frangipani so far succeeded, that upon the thirteenth day, by means of a popular commotion, they effected the release of Alexander and his cardinals, who immediately fled from Rome to Anagni. The rival Popes then proceeded emulously to excommunicate and anathematize each other.

This double election, with its consequences, was speedily announced to the Emperor in his camp before Crema. A modern politic sovereign might probably have rejoiced in a schism that must weaken the usually encroaching Papacy, and have left the two Popes and their Cardinals to fight out their own quarrel. But to Frederic Barbarossa, the election of the supreme pontiff was matter of deep religious interest, even more than of political importance.

A schism in the Church was, in his eyes, a serious misfortune; and, though his judgment must needs have been biassed by resentment against one of the pretenders to St. Peter's Chair, and knowledge of the friendly sentiments of the other, he endeavoured by the best means in his power, to ascertain which of them was the true Spiritual Head of Christendom. Affirming that upon the Emperor was it incumbent to provide against the dangers that the Cardinals, "for their own ends, and disregarding the will of God," had brought upon the whole Church, he, by the old prescriptive Imperial right, if long disused, never renounced, even by Lothar, convoked a General Council, to meet at Pavia in the ensuing month of January, in order to examine and decide which of the two claimants was the lawful Pope. He addressed letters to all the prelates of Christendom, individually inviting them to constitute this Council; and others to all Christian potentates, entreating them not to declare themselves for either competitor until this indispensable Council should have decided between the two. And finally, he summoned both the elected pontiffs to appear before this General Council, the only tribunal authorized to judge between them. But notwithstanding Frederic's professions of impartiality, and doubtless honest endeavours to act up to those professions, his wishes and inclinations were betrayed by the very superscriptions of these last two summoning epistles. The one was directed to "Victor, Roman Bishop, and the Cardinals who have elected him;" the other to "the Chancellor Rolando and the Cardinals who have elected him."

To this summons Alexander haughtily replied, that the lawful successor of the Blessed Apostle could acknowledge no jurisdiction of Emperor or Council; it was his to summon, not to be summoned, to judge, not to be judged; and he took no further notice of summons or Council. Victor, on the contrary, of a more pliant temper, either conscious of his own weakness, or relying upon the Imperial summoner's disinclination for his rival, immediately repaired to Pavia, where he exerted himself still further to conciliate the good will of the Emperor and his court, as also that of the prelates as they arrived.

Frederic, at the period he had originally named for the

opening of the Council, was still detained, if not engrossed, by the siege of Crema. When, released by its fall, he returned to Pavia, he found this important business awaiting him, and lost no time in endeavouring to forward it. Not above sixty or seventy prelates, and these mostly Italians and Germans, appear to have been present; but with this attendance, upon the 4th of February, he proceeded to open the Council. He is said to have briefly addressed the fathers of the Church as follows:—"Not only the old Roman emperors, but also Charlemagne and Otho the Great, convoked Councils of the Church, to decide weighty questions. I presume not to pass judgment between the rival claimants of the Papal See, but desire to be instructed by holy and learned men, such as I see before me, which of the two Popes, elected in opposition to each other, I am to obey as head of the Church. Do you, without reference to me, thoroughly investigate and decide this momentous question, as you will answer it to God." Having thus spoken he withdrew, taking with him all the laity.

During seven days the Council deliberated. All were disposed to pronounce Victor the Supreme Pontiff, propitiated most likely by his prompt recognition of their authority; but the Lombard Bishops were reluctant to condemn the Roman Chancellor unheard. Against this reluctance Alexander's adversaries represented that his being unheard was entirely his own fault; to which the German prelates added, that it were hard to allow the wilful obstinacy of one of the candidates for the tiara to render the expense and inconvenience occasioned them by a summons to Italy, unavailing. Ultimately, intercepted letters, written by Alexander and his Cardinals, were laid before the Council, from which it was evident both that prior even to Adrian's death they had conspired to prevent the election of any Pope who should not be of their own faction, and that they had now confederated with Milan, and the other insurgent cities of Lombardy, against the Emperor. The Council was satisfied, and proclaimed Victor IV the true Pope.

The doors were then thrown open and the decision was announced. The Emperor and Princes declared their

approbation and concurrence; and the assembled people, being thrice asked whether they acknowledged Victor IV as Pope, thrice assented with loud exclamations. The next day Victor was brought in state from a monastery where he had taken up his residence. He came, clad in the papal vestments, and riding a white palfrey. The Emperor awaited him at the door of the cathedral, held his stirrup whilst he alighted, and led him by the hand to the high altar, where he knelt to kiss his slipper: all present followed his example. As Pope, Victor then celebrated high mass, after which he solemnly excommunicated the refractory Anti-pope, and, as the sentence was pronounced, the torches were emblematically extinguished. The Emperor, considering all doubts and difficulties to be removed by this solemn recognition of Victor, despatched embassadors, in company with the Papal Legates, to the several European courts to make known the decision of the Council, and urge the acknowledgment of the true Pope.

Alexander III lost no time in retorting the excommunication of his triumphant rival; including in his anathema, the ecclesiastical adherents of that rival and his lay supporter, the Emperor, whose subjects he at the same time released from their oaths of allegiance. He likewise sent legates forth, to counteract, throughout Europe, Victor's legates and Frederic's embassadors; and he drew yet closer the bonds of alliance with Milan.

Again the period of feudal service had expired, and again the Emperor had no right to detain the German princes; as little had they to detain their vassals in Italy, even if themselves willing to remain there. Frederic therefore dismissed the greater part of his German host with thanks, rewards, and exhortations to return next year, bringing fresh troops. His brother, the Rhine Palsgrave, his cousins, the Duke of Swabia and the younger Welf, son to the Duke of Spoleto, Palsgrave Otho, and a few more, would not desert him; and their vassals, imbued with their spirit, remained with them. But this addition to his Italian army was not sufficient to enable him to do more, during the year 1160 and the early portion of 1161, than repress the attempts of Milan against the loyal cities,

and carry on desultory hostilities, which, being retaliated, were productive of no result beyond much suffering on either side. Evils from which, however, young Welf, who seems to have enjoyed full authority over so much of his father's Italian domains as were really in the Duke's possession, found means to protect those domains.

In the summer of 1161 Frederic received reinforcements from Germany; but he, upon whom he was most entitled to rely, was not amongst the leaders, his warriors swelled not the ranks of those reinforcements. The Duke of Saxony and Bavaria alleged the necessity he was under of punishing the Slavonians, who, during his last absence in Italy, had disobeyed his commands to respect the property of the Danes: and it may be suspected that he did not much regret the necessity, which, by weakening his Imperial kinsman and liege lord, might prolong the detention beyond the Alps, of him from whom alone the Lion could apprehend any check to his ambitious schemes. Still, if less numerous than Frederic had hoped, the German troops that joined him were sufficient to render it, at the first blush, matter of some surprise that again this year he should have contented himself with checking the incursions of the Milanese upon the loyal Lombards, ravaging their own territories, obstructing the introduction of provisions into Milan, and punishing, in the sanguinary spirit of the times, by blinding, cutting off the nose, or the like, those peasants who, for the chance of obtaining scarcity-prices, attempted to carry their produce thither in defiance of his prohibition; an act of rebellion against their acknowledged sovereign, be it remembered. But the surprise felt at such apparently desultory measures vanishes upon consideration. It was evidently his object to reduce Milan by a species of blockade, the evils of which would press upon the Milanese alone; thus sparing the lives of the loyal and of the rebels likewise, since with themselves it would always rest to end those evils by submission.

The summer was thus occupied; at the close of autumn the Emperor again dismissed the German vassals whose term of service had expired. But while so doing he took, in their presence, a solemn oath, never to quit Italy till he should be master of Milan. And in further proof of his

sense of the arduous, and possibly hazardous character of the task to which he thus pledged himself, he provided for the contingency of his own death during its execution. Deeming the times probably too troublous for the reign of a child with a regency, he made no mention of his own infant son as his successor; but designated as such, in the first instance, his brother Palsgrave Conrad, and in his default, his cousin Henry Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, of whom, however disappointed in the exertions he had hoped from him, it is clear he as yet entertained no mistrust. After the departure of the Germans he fixed his winter quarters at Lodi.

It may seem strange to modern readers that a blockade so imperfect as that which has been described should have answered its purpose; but early in 1162, whilst Frederic still sojourned at Lodi, the wisdom of his seeming procrastination was made manifest. Hunger for the second time conquered Milan. The Consuls, presenting themselves before him at Lodi, offered to capitulate; the Emperor, as was his wont, refused to admit rebels to a capitulation, insisting upon a surrender at discretion; and the Consuls, exclaiming that death was preferable, returned home, to "die among their neighbours." But, as usual, the populace, who, by their intemperate violence, had provoked the vengeance hanging over them, lacked fortitude to endure the consequences of their own outrageous conduct, the calamities in which they had involved themselves and others. A struggle in arms might have excited them; but they were intolerant of the evils of scarcity, which indeed pressed more heavily upon them than upon the wealthy, and they compelled the Consuls to comply with the Emperor's demands.

What was to be the fate of the vanquished remained as yet wrapt in mystery. The Emperor required, in the first place, as upon the former occasion, complete and entire submission. To mark this, the ceremonial of the surrender was performed with prolonged formalities. Upon the 1st of March eight consuls and as many knights repaired to Lodi, there, in the name of Milan, to surrender at discretion, laying themselves and their fellow-citizens at the Emperor's mercy. Upon the 3d, three hundred

knights laid their swords, with the keys of the city and of her castles, and thirty-six banners, at the Emperor's feet. Lastly, upon the 6th, all who had been consuls during the last three years of rebellion, with a body of the burgher troops escorting the *carroccio*, and ninety-six more banners, proceeded to Lodi. When the mournful procession came in sight of the Emperor, the trumpets of the *carroccio* sounded for the last time, the strain dying away as the mast,—upon which appeared, beside the crucifix, the figure of St. Ambrose in the act of giving his blessing,—sank, as if spontaneously. Then the trumpets, with the banners, were thrown at the feet of the victorious sovereign. The *carroccio* was broken to pieces and its attendants fell prostrate crying for mercy.

It is said that Frederic, dreading the influence of his tender-hearted consort over his sterner mood, had forbidden her presence at this scene. But the roughest warriors were moved. Biandrate, who since his reconciliation with the Emperor, had fought as gallantly against, as previously for, his insurgent fellow-citizens, stood forward to add his supplications to theirs ; and almost all present shed tears. Frederic alone sat unaltered in countenance. At length he spoke. "Such mercy as is compatible with justice, shall be yours. By law, you have all forfeited your lives; but, your lives I give you, and will subject you only to such measures of rigour as are necessary to prevent the repetition of your crimes."

What those measures should be, was reserved for discussion in a Diet to be held at Pavia. Thither Frederic, after despatching six German and six Italian commissioners to Milan, to receive the citizens' oaths of submission and allegiance, removed with his court, and also with the Milanese knights, now increased in number to 400, whom he detained as hostages. At this Diet were present, the Italian nobles and prelates, with the Consuls of all the loyal cities. Among them, Milan had few friends. Pavia detested her long triumphant rival; and all the Italian Ghibelines, nobles and citizens alike, wished the arrogant city to be disabled from annoying and oppressing her neighbours. The personally insulted and threatened commissioners, Archbishop Reginald, and Palsgrave Otho,

would hardly plead in her favour. The Rhine Palsgrave is said to have been the inveterate enemy of all Lombard Guelphs, whilst Lodi and Como must have been on fire with impatience to see their tyrant treated as she had treated them. This last proposal, as most consonant with Frederic's notions of strict justice, was the course adopted. The Milanese were commanded to quit their native city, and build themselves, for their future abode, four villages ; ([18]) each two miles distant from Milan, and at least as far from each other, to each of which he named a governor. Their moveable property, the citizens were allowed to take with them, or at least, as usual, what they could carry ; ([19]) but the walls and fortifications, and according to some writers, the buildings, with the exception of the churches, were to be demolished ; and the ditch filled.([20]) This work of destruction he committed to Lodi, Como, Novara, and other cities that had smarted under the yoke of Milan, and joyfully did they undertake it. Whether Milan was, or was not sacked, is as much a disputed question as the degree to which it was destroyed. Plundered it certainly was, a proof that a limited portion of their property only was to be carried off by the inhabitants ; but plundered, it should seem, in orderly manner for public account, since one tenth of the booty was assigned by Frederic, to divers Italian and German cloisters.([21]) A piece of the booty upon which he set especial value, was the shrine containing the relics, genuine or supposititious, of the three Kings who, supernaturally guided, visited Bethlehem to worship the infant Saviour. This he presented to his Chancellor Reginald, for the Cathedral of his See, where it is still exhibited. Upon the 26th the Emperor entered Milan, in triumph, not by one of the gates, but over the filled-up ditch and razed wall, hastily prepared for his passage.

This destruction of Milan is the act generally selected, as one of unprecedented barbarity, to brand Frederic with tyrannical inhumanity ; and Tiraboschi, who admires the grandeur of his character, thinks he must have blamed himself for suffering any provocation to impel him to such cruelty. The republican Sismondi, it has been seen, regards it in a different light :([22]) and although the act is un-

questionably repugnant to modern feelings, yet amidst the massacres, tortures, and other horrors, narrated and to be narrated in the present pages, it is difficult to discover any very extraordinary inhumanity or tyranny in disabling rebellion (as he hoped), by merely retaliating upon Milan, somewhat less barbarously, the treatment she had wantonly inflicted upon Lodi and Como. Nor did Frederic himself apparently, or contemporary Ghibelines, ever consider the doom of Milan as obnoxious to censure, the latter habitually boasting of it as a glorious instance of retributive justice. When the Imperial Court was so moved by the distress of the Milanese, a sentence of death for all the leading men, and of utter spoliation for the rest, was probably anticipated.

The Emperor, when his officers were so grossly insulted at Milan, had vowed never to wear his crown till the guilty city was subdued. For three years he had faithfully kept this vow; and when, upon the 1st of April, A.D. 1162, he returned to Pavia, there to celebrate simultaneously his triumph and the Easter festivals, and appeared in public with his Empress, both having their crowns on their heads, the clamorous enthusiasm that greeted them, made the welkin ring. Prelates, nobles, consuls, and podestàs, thronged around him with congratulations. Brescia, and other confederates of Milan, hastened to earn their pardon by assisting in her demolition, paying heavy self-imposed fines, receiving consuls and podestàs of Imperial nomination, and promising on oath to supply ample contingents for the Emperor's wars, against Rome, Apulia, or other rebellious towns or provinces. The previously loyal Bologna alone, made a show of resistance, that brought the Imperial forces down upon her; when in alarm she deputed the four Doctors who had attended at Roncaglia, to plead in her favour. For their sakes she was pardoned, upon submitting like the rest.

But, if Frederic punished severely, he liberally rewarded. To Pavia, Lodi, Cremona, and Como, he granted or confirmed the privilege of electing their own magistrates. The Pisan municipality, in recompense of Pisa's staunch loyalty, he invested with the county, or more properly with an Earl's privileges and rights, over a number of Tuscan

towns. Genoa had no such claims, having received Pope Alexander with great honours, only turning against, and, in fact, expelling him, when alarmed by the fall of Milan. But Genoa was forgiven and permitted to earn future rewards. Frederic negotiated with both Pisa and Genoa, for the use of their fleets, and for other services beyond what was feudally due, in his projected war with King William; and by some chroniclers, is said to have promised them not only a share of the Sicilian booty, royal treasure included, but the island itself, in vassalage. When Milan was at length fairly subdued, however, he did not hold it expedient to remain in Italy, merely to make war upon William the Bad. His most important business he now judged to be healing the schism in the Church; and the negotiations to accomplish that object, as well as the affairs of Germany, recalled him north of the Alps. But prior to accompanying him on his return, it will be desirable to see what the state of Germany had been during his prolonged absence in Italy.

Of the several princes who forsook the Emperor amidst his Italian troubles in 1159, one had returned to forward his own ambitious schemes of aggrandizement, during so favorable an opportunity; another to receive, unjustly, the punishment he had justly incurred by his previous treachery. Their acts and their fate are the most memorable events of these years in Germany; and the last named, as a more distinct transaction, less involved with the continuous history of the period embraced in these volumes, may take precedence.

The prince in question was Arnold Archbishop of Mainz, whose unprincipled superseding of his, whether innocent or guilty, confiding predecessor, Archbishop Henry, the reader will not have forgotten.(23) It might be anticipated that the man who had so basely attained his temporally, as well as spiritually, important office, would not be likely so to exercise the authority committed to him, as to win the love and respect of his flock or of his vassals. He is said, indeed, to have been even ascetically austere in his habits of life, and very charitable to the poor; but this eulogy is more than qualified, is well nigh neutralized, by the addition, that he was arrogant, harsh, violent in temper, and carried

to exaggeration most of the faults imputed to his predecessor. His defence of the most extreme Church pretensions was characterized by a relentless fierceness that exasperated all opponents; especially after he had himself been irritated, by the condemnation which the Emperor and Diet pronounced of all parties, in his quarrel with the Rhine Palsgrave, Hermann von Stahleeke. Hence, prior to his attending the Emperor into Italy, dissensions of various kinds had arisen between him and his flock; these Frederic, to whom both parties appealed, had appeased; and he had been moreover evidently prepossessed in favour of the prelate, by the apparent—possibly real—clemency of his request, that the rioters should merely be sentenced to repair the damage they had done.

What had since occurred to enrage the Mainzers seems doubtful; but Arnold had, upon his road home, received more than one hint of danger awaiting him. The saintly Abbess Hildegard warned him of what he had to expect, clothing her intimation in words that betrayed the indifferent opinion she entertained of himself. She wrote to him:—"Turn thee to the Lord, for the hour of death is at hand!" Arnold, his natural arrogance inflated by past success, scornfully observed, "The Mainz dogs bark, but dare not bite." This comment was reported to the holy Abbess, and again she wrote, "The dogs that will rend thee piece-meal, are unchained." Incensed rather than alarmed, the Archbishop hurried forward to punish the mutineers; and when he reached Mainz, resolved, not in fear, but as a mark of his displeasure, instead of entering the refractory city, to take up his abode at the Abbey of St. James, situated without the walls. There he required the citizens to wait upon him, make their submission, and give him hostages for their good conduct and his safety, before he would condescend to set foot amongst them. Having sent this message, he appears to have awaited the answer, without taking any measures of precaution: and in this state of inconceivably supine security, the insurgents, having ascertained, possibly through some of the monks, that he was very slenderly escorted, surprised and murdered him. Then, alarmed at the sacrilege they had committed, the citizens of Mainz sought to gain a protector

by raising a brother of the Duke of Zäringen to the archiepiscopal see, in contempt of the rights of the Chapter; the lawlessness of which proceeding they endeavoured to disguise, by presently terrifying the Canons into electing their nominee. It is reported that, in addition to this measure, they violently seized the church treasure, in order, almost avowedly, to assist threats by bribery. The Pope naturally refused to sanction such an obtrusion of a prelate upon a Chapter by laymen, and those laymen murderers; whilst, even before this refusal was known, the illegally elected prelate had been rejected. The Emperor had sent his brother, the Rhine Palsgrave, and their brother-in-law, Lewis, Landgrave of Thuringia, who had married a daughter of Frederick the One-eyed, into Germany, to hasten the march of his anxiously expected reinforcements; and these princes were actually holding a Diet at the moment of the Mainz catastrophe. That Diet, declaring its horror of the whole transaction, of the sacrilegious murder and the audacious usurpation of the rights of the Chapter, annulled the pretended election, and substituted as irregularly, though by what form or process is not exactly known, Christian von Buch, Dean of Merseburg, for the intended Zäringen prelate. Both appealed to the Emperor and his Pope, Victor, who pronounced both elections alike invalid, because alike uncanonical, and conjointly named Conrad von Wittelsbach, Otho's brother, Archbishop of Mainz.

The ambitious deserter of his sovereign was Henry the Lion. He, upon reaching his favourite duchy, Saxony, was met by the King of Denmark's complaints of Obodrite insincerity. The vessels Niklot had delivered up, proved to be old hulks, no longer seaworthy; and the Danish merchants had suffered, as before, from Slavonian pirates. Waldemar more than insinuated suspicions that the Duke, who received, under the name of tribute, a share of the profit of these piratical expeditions, had connived at Niklot's conduct; suspicions corroborated by the fact that the similar promise made at the same time to Henry's vassal, the Earl of Holstein, to spare the Holsteiners, had been religiously kept. The Lion's answer was a profession of his abhorrence of such equivocation, such really

direct perjury, as characterized Niklot's conduct, and of his determination severely to punish the offender. In fact, the accusation was clearly welcome to him; whether he had or had not connived at Niklot's breach of his engagement, he at once perceived that the punishment to be inflicted offered him the opportunity he wanted to complete the subjugation of the Slavonians, or at least of the Obodrites. This duty, to wit, that of thus redeeming his plighted word, was the plea upon which he had evaded his other duty, of hastening, as a loyal vassal and grateful kinsman, to the assistance of the Emperor in Lombardy.

Henry accordingly summoned Niklot to his presence to explain his conduct. But the Slavonian prince, either conscious of disobedience, or apprehensive of being made the victim of his Lord's policy, instead of obeying, attempted again to surprise Lubeck, which town, extorted, whilst still in ruins, by Henry from the Earl of Hostein, in exchange for some other, locally less valuable, was now a thriving seaport. Niklot's scheme was foiled, and he himself, in the war that ensued, falling into an ambuscade, was slain. He was the last Slavonian prince who struggled with any degree of success or reputation to avert the complete subjugation of his compatriots, and consequent extirpation of his religion, in Germany, although neither the last Slavonian prince, nor the last prince of his race who attempted it. For the moment, however, hostilities ceased upon his death, and the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria granted part of his principality, in stricter vassalage, to two of his sons, Pribislaf and Wertislaf, jointly. A third son, Pritzlaf, had honestly embraced Christianity, and, obtaining a sister of Waldemar's in marriage, appears to have been domiciliated in Denmark. Why he was excluded from any share of his father's heritage—to even a disproportionate share, his conversion and his matrimonial alliance would, under the circumstances, have seemed to entitle him—does not appear. It is related, in proof of this convert's genuine Christianity, as it might be in proof of what was then the prevalent idea of Christianity, that being seated at his royal brother-in-law's festive board when the tidings of his

father Niklot's death arrived, he dropt the morsel he was conveying to his mouth, and covered his face with his hands; but, after a minute's reflexion, lifted up his head, said, "The contemner of the True God must needs perish:" and, having thus conquered all filial regrets, resumed the business of the hour, his repast, with his previous diligence and cheerfulness. Those lands that Henry withheld from the Slavonian princes, he granted in fief to Saxon nobles, or kept as private ducal property.

The peace, thus seemingly re-established, was short-lived. Pribislaf and Wertislaf were dissatisfied with obtaining a part only of their father's possessions. The Slavonians in general had lost little or none of their old hatred of Christian laws and institutions, especially the payment of tithe, to them a novel and thence more odious institution, as it had been of yore to the Saxons themselves; whilst those who were subjected to Saxon nobles or to ducal officers, were further irritated at the treatment they received from their new masters. Nor can their insurgent propensities be blamed, if the general conduct of their German masters towards them be judged from that of one individual; recorded by contemporary chroniclers, without any apparent disapprobation, simply as a matter of fact. They state that Gunzelin Earl of Schwerin, in order to check the depredations of Slavonians upon his German settlers, authorized these last to hang, without further form or inquiry, any Slavonians whom they might find upon a bye-path or off the public roads (*per avia incedentes*).

Is it possible to withhold sympathy from a people struggling to preserve or to recover their liberty from such alien conquerors, who, without a shadow of right beyond superior power, had subjugated, inthralled, and oppressed them; their faith from converters who could teach a Christian son to regard his father's death, and as he believed, eternal perdition, as just now described? Can it be matter of surprise, to be told that after their subjugation all the vices inherent in the Slavonian character, were moe fully developed, whilst all the virtues were extinguished.(24) And with many of the vices incident to a savage state, more than its usual virtues had previously been ascribed to them. They

are said to have been industrious; so hospitable that robbery, if indispensable to the entertainment of a guest, became a venial offence; and their women to have been invariably chaste, although so enslaved, so harshly used by the men, that mothers killed their new-born daughters, out of pure love, to spare them a life of misery, even as some of the aboriginal American women are reported to have done.(25)

Pribislaf and Wertislaf—confident of the support of their countrymen, as well of those forcibly severed from their authority as of those still their subjects, and concerting their measures with their neighbours the Pomeranian Princes—rose against their conqueror. But too many enemies were united against the Slavonians of Germany, to leave them a chance of success. The Duke of Savony and Bavaria attacked them by land, as did, farther eastward, the Margraves of Brandenburg and Misnia, whilst the King of Denmark, accompanied by Pritzlaf, appeared on the coast with a fleet, and burnt Rostock. Under these circumstances, resistance became hopeless, and the subjugation of the Obodrites was consummated. Henry did not, indeed, dispossess the brother princes, but he rendered their vassalage more galling, granted more lands to Saxon nobles, and invited more settlers from Flanders and Zealand to occupy the uncultivated districts, as rent-paying land-holders, with great privileges. Moreover, he appointed bishops without reference to the Emperor. Waldemar reduced the Prince of Rügen to the condition of a Danish vassal, and the Margraves appear to have acquired considerable additions to their several dominions. The Slavonian concerns of his duchy thus fully, and as he hoped, finally settled, the Lion turned his attention to other affairs; and pre-eminent in importance amongst these was the Schism. He had, in submission to the authority of the Council, acknowledged Victor, of course requiring all his vassals to do the same; he now concurred with a Legate of this Pope's in removing from his see, Ulrich Bishop of Halberstadt, who, alone of Saxon prelates, had declared for Alexander, and substituting Gero Dean of the Chapter for the deposed Ulrich. Henry then repaired to Bavaria, where opinions were more divided upon this question; and there, as if to

prove that he was no warm partisan of Victor's, he attacked the Bishop of Ratisbon, who had, like himself, accepted the Council's decision. The grounds of the attack are uncertain. Accusations of unclerical conduct were long afterwards brought against the Bishop, but never proved; and this seems likely to have been merely one of the many feuds in which the Lion's domineering and ambitious temper was incessantly involving him with his vassals and neighbours, spiritual and temporal. Indeed the warmest admirers of this prince scarcely venture either to limit his ambition and rapacity, or to deny the violence, the injustice, even the craft, (for something of the fox mingled with and degraded his leonine nature,) to which he occasionally had recourse, as often to accomplish some private object of his own, as to advance the prosperity of his dominions. But whatever were the motive of Henry's aggression, the venerable Archbishop of Salzburg, though himself a partisan of Alexander's, interposed for the protection of the Bishop of Ratisbon, or to speak correctly, the represssion of the attempt at ducal interference with episcopal concerns; and his mediation had restored peace about the time of the Emperor's return to Germany.

Thus Frederic, on his arrival found Henry the Lion very considerably increased in power, and the murderers of Archbishop Arnold unpunished; but Germany, for the most part, unusually tranquil. The only existing symptoms of disturbance seem to have been, the impunity of Mainz, the division of opinion touching the claims of the rival Popes, and the assumption by the city of Treves, in humble imitation of the Lombard cities, of the title of a community (*communio*). The schism, and the respective proceedings of the pontifical rivals, were the business which the Emperor deemed principally, or at least primarily, to require his attention.

The Legates of Alexander had, throughout Europe, successfully contended against those of Victor; notwithstanding the support which the latter received from Imperial Embassadors. Only in Denmark and Hungary, then avowedly vassal states, had Victor been acknowledged as Pope. Lewis VII of France, and Henry II of

England, had severally assembled the prelates of their respective kingdoms, to investigate the important question; and both Synods, either convinced by the arguments of Alexander's Legates, or influenced by the jealousy both their Kings seem to have entertained of the sovereign authority claimed by the Emperor, pronounced Alexander III true and lawful Pope. The Envoys of Frederic and Victor represented that a question so important to the whole Christian world could not be decided by the prelates of any single state; whereupon the two Kings jointly convoked a Council to meet at Toulouse, to which they summoned all Christian prelates, as well as the two pretenders to St. Peter's Chair. But the two Kings had no pretension to the Imperial right of summoning an œcumenic Council; and if at Pavia only Italian and German prelates formed the deliberative body, at Toulouse, it consisted solely of French and English. Yet such as it was, with far less right than its predecessor, being equally incomplete in the character of a representation of the whole Church, and not convoked by lawful authority, this synod boldly assumed the style of a General Council, and entered upon the investigation of the circumstances of the double election.

During all this time, Alexander had vainly endeavoured to establish himself at Rome. The turbulent republicans speedily convinced him that any other residence was preferable to the Eternal City; and leaving the Bishop of Præneste as his deputy to continue the struggle for the proper Papal capital, he repaired to Sicily, in vessels sent by the King to convey him thither. But Sicily was not the stage on which to contend for the Papacy itself, and he proceeded to Genoa, where, as before said, he was, during the resistance of Milan, received and entertained with great honours. The fall of the Lombard Queen so changed the disposition of the Genoese as to alarm the Holy Father for his personal safety; and whilst Genoa hastened to offer the Emperor and Victor every atonement for her offence in entertaining Alexander, he betook himself to France, where he hoped to find more decided support. Nor was he disappointed. He was received with all the demonstrations of reverence ever rendered to popes:

clergy and laity, nobility and commonalty, flocked around him; and, what was of more consequence, the Toulouse Council, rejected all the evidence invalidating the election of the Chancellor Rolando, as undeserving of credit, because resting upon the authority of his private enemies; and acknowledged him as the true Pope.

This flattering aspect of his affairs was ere long, indeed, in some measure overclouded. But from this moment much discrepancy again exists between the narratives of the transactions found in French and German, in Guelph and Ghibeline historians respectively. From the comparison of these conflicting accounts, it should seem that the original acknowledgment of Alexander by Lewis VII, a man of weak character, usually ruled by the last speaker, was the fruit of the influence of his second wife, a warm partisan of that pontiff. But the influence proved transitory. This Queen, who, like Elinor of Aquitaine, gave him only daughters, died early; and, upon losing her, he selected, as her successor and his third wife, Adelaide, sister of the Earl of Champagne, the husband of one of his daughters by Queen Elinor. To the Earls of Champagne Victor IV was distantly related, and Queen Adelaide naturally esteemed her own kinsman the true Pope. Her royal consort's faith in Alexander was shaken, by her arguments, but he still received him hospitably. The wavering in the monarch's adhesion to the Pope of his first choice was increased by a warning from the Emperor that his pontifical visitor was a needy man, who looked to French money for relief from some pressing debts. That the Imperial suspicion was not altogether groundless, the conduct of Alexander early proved, whilst his arrogance ere long offended Lewis.

The King now, if not earlier, authorized the Earl of Champagne to visit the Emperor in Italy, and open a negotiation with him relative to the schism. As to the date of the Earl's mission, whether he were only despatched when the Pope had offended the King, or upon his first arrival, opinions are divided. So are they with respect to the extent of the powers intrusted to this doubly connected embassador. Some writers say that the Earl was despatched early, with very limited powers, afterwards

greatly enlarged when Lewis was angered by Alexander's haughty resentment of his presuming to negotiate upon a subject, so far beyond the sphere of his competence. Others, who agree as to the date, affirm that the Bishop of Soissons, then French Chancellor, from the first authorized the Earl to overstep these limits, governing himself by his own discretion; and this statement seems, upon the whole, most consonant with the course of events.

The Earl of Champagne arranged with the Emperor that, for the solution of this important question, he and the King of France should, upon the 29th of August of the current year, 1162, meet upon the frontier of their respective realms; the place selected being a bridge over the Saone, at St. Jean de Losne, which, as uniting the two, was, or should be esteemed, neutral ground. That the two sovereigns should be respectively accompanied by their chief ecclesiastics and nobles, and by the two Popes elect, the Emperor by Victor, the King by Alexander. That there, in the presence of the two monarchs, the two claimants should, before a mixed committee, partly lay, partly clerical, as thus best representing the whole of Christendom, a sort of miniature Œcumenic Council, and carefully selected for the purpose, debate their respective pretensions to the Papal crown. That, in this character, of the representative of an Œcumenic Council, the committee so selected should decide between them; that, should the decision be adverse to Cardinal Ottaviano, the Emperor should immediately fall at Cardinal Rolando's feet, acknowledging him as Pope Alexander III; should it be adverse to Cardinal Rolando, the King of France should, in like manner, fall at Cardinal Ottaviano's feet, acknowledging him as Pope Victor IV. The Earl himself did not wait for this investigation, but took the opportunity of his mission, to kiss the feet of his kinsman, as Supreme Head of the Church.

Why this convention proved ineffective, where the fault of its failure lay, was the grand subject of contention and contradiction at this epoch; but upon deliberate consideration of the whole of the certain as of the doubtful points, it seems to lie chiefly at the door of the arrogant Alexander, who treated the slightest hesitation as to his

papacy as sacrilege, and a little at Lewis's, the King not being ultrascrupulous in point of veracity. The course of the transaction appears to have been as follows.

It is quite certain that Alexander, as before, refused to argue his right, or submit it to any sort of inquiry, asserting that Pope he was, and as such, supreme Judge,—superior to all tribunals. Hereupon Lewis, partly awed by this haughty refusal, partly influenced by his brother, the Archbishop of Rheims, and partly frightened by his formidable vassal, Henry II, of England, both of whom were then staunch adherents of Alexander, seems to have sought by equivocation to disentangle himself from, or at least to deny, or evade fulfilling, the compact concluded in his name. His Embassador, offended at such repudiation of his work, indignantly declared, that if his plighted word were violated, he must, to guard his own honour from stain, transfer his homage, and the allegiance of his county of Champagne, to the Emperor. Such a loss was not to be risked, and again it is certain that Lewis proceeded to St. Jean de Losne, but without Alexander, whom he was pledged to bring thither; that he appeared the first upon the appointed bridge, and after waiting a little while, washed his hands in the river, in token of having performed his part of the compact. Having thus, as he hoped, satisfied the Earl of Champagne, he hurried back to Dijon.

Victor meanwhile, upon learning his opponent's refusal to attend, as arranged, had strongly objected to submitting his claim, already sanctioned by two Councils—a second had sat at Lodi, which confirmed the decision of that held at Pavia—to further investigation. But he had yielded to the remonstrances of his Imperial protector, and accompanied him to the bridge, which they reached shortly after the French King's departure. The Emperor caused representations to be addressed to the King—who was exulting in his skilfully achieved triumph—upon the absurdity of considering a treaty, made for an object so momentous as the prevention of a schism in the Church, void, because one of the contracting parties might be casually so delayed as to present himself an hour, or even a day later

than that appointed, at the place of meeting; and the Earl of Champagne openly declared that his honour could not be so satisfied. Frederic is stated by French writers to have been followed to the bridge by a formidable army, intended to compel the acknowledgment of Victor, without further inquiry; which coercion Lewis only escaped by his early retreat. Italian Guelph writers add, that the design was to make both Alexander and Lewis prisoners; a nefarious scheme, foiled solely by the approach of Henry II with an army as large as the Emperor's. Attended by numbers of great vassals, lay as well as spiritual, the Emperor would unquestionably be; partly for state at such a meeting, partly to select from amongst them his portion of the mixed committee; and these princes would, moreover, in their turn be attended by their own vassals. It is likewise certain that many had repaired to Dole—whither Frederic had gone to be near the place of meeting—upon business totally unconnected with that meeting; as *e. g.*, Waldemar King of Denmark, and Raymond Earl of Provence, who came to do homage, the one for his kingdom, the other for his county; the Archbishop of Lyons, who sought his sovereign's protection against his Chapter, &c. &c.; and all these might be invited to stay and accompany him, in order to enhance the solemnity, the œcumenic character, of the proceedings. It is likewise very possible that Lewis, who had no such body of potent vassals to oppose to them, and still more, Alexander, might naturally, if groundlessly, conceive some apprehension from the proximity of so considerable a force. But had Frederic designed to take any unfair advantage of his preponderance in force, there was nothing to prevent him from crossing the bridge and executing his treacherous purpose in France, as Henry II was not at hand at the first failure of the meeting. He did nothing of the kind; and surely a Prince who professed to be governed solely by justice, and whom scarcely any, even of his bitterest enemies, charge with habitual disloyalty, is not, because an antagonist was idly frightened or idly suspicious, to be accused of such gross perfidy, without a shadow of proof; it might be further said, without even the allegation of any rational motive; since it is

self-evident that such a compulsory recognition would not only be revoked the moment the coercion was withdrawn, but must shock and alienate all who yet hesitated between the competitors.

However this may be, Lewis now desired and, after some negotiation, obtained a further delay, and a term of three weeks was agreed upon, at the end of which the monarchs, the rival pontiffs, and the Committee, should meet as before proposed. Alexander is said to have caused the interposal of the delay, in the hope of meanwhile procuring, from the King of England, such succours as would make his party more a match for the Emperor's. It answered his purpose, though in a different way, giving him time to guard against the apprehended defection of Lewis. Very early in the three weeks, Frederic's large company or army had consumed all the provisions within convenient reach of Dole—the Arelat chancing that year to suffer from dearth—and was therefore obliged to remove to a greater distance. Lewis repaired to the appointed place, again without Alexander, and upon this occasion, at least, it seems to be admitted, before the appointed hour; but whether or not having previously again formally acknowledged Alexander, and thus, as far as in him lay, stultified the projected investigation and decision, is one of the many contested points in this transaction. Upon the bridge Lewis certainly found, not Frederic, but the Archbishop of Cologne, with whom he speedily got into altercation; when Reginald, incensed at what he deemed the French King's equivocations and evasions, boldly asserted, that the decision in a disputed papal election was as much the exclusive right of the Emperor, as that respecting the disputed election of any French prelate was the French King's, and that the reference to an Œcumenic Council had been a voluntary concession of Frederic's. Whether this were meant as a taunt, or as a claim seriously intended to be revived, may be doubted, when it is recollected that the Emperor's sanction was, till Gregory VII's time, indispensable to a papal election. Be that as it may, Lewis took fire at this pretension; the Earl of Champagne avowed his honour satisfied, and the French party rode off. Alexander was now

undisputed Pope throughout France, as he had for some time been in the dominions of the King of England.

The schism remained unhealed, and the rival Popes excommunicated each other as before. It is said that Waldemar of Denmark's chief advisers, his foster-brother Bishop Absalom, and Archbishop Eskil, favoured Alexander; and that the Danish monarch, inclining the same way, left the assembly when Victor began to anathematize his rival. If this were so, and Frederic at such a moment suffered so offensive a demonstration of independent and opposing opinion, it is strong evidence of the fairness of his intentions in regard to the baffled deliberative interview.

Upon the failure of this projected meeting, with its anticipated important results, Archbishop Reginald, who had been awaiting it in Frederic's court, as of course to be one of the judges, repaired to Cologne. He had not visited his see since his return from Italy, and now carried thither the precious shrine presented to him at Milan by the Emperor. This he deposited with all due rites and ceremonies in his Cathedral; and the wealthy commercial city gloried in the appropriate, hallowed guerdon of her prince-prelate's abilities and zeal; whilst her loyalty was confirmed by gratitude for a gift that tended yet further to enrich her, through the numbers of pilgrims attracted thither by the highly prized relics of the three Kings. From Cologne, the Archbishop returned in all haste to Italy, to watch over his master's interests there.

Frederic now visited divers parts of Germany, settling disputes, repressing encroachments, and fostering industry. Amongst other matters, he ordered Treves to annihilate its new-fangled *Communio*, which, whether so designed or not, sounded to his ears like Lombard republicanism and sedition. But Treves, true to the loyalty of German cities, unseditiously obeyed.

Ever indulgent to Henry the Lion, Frederic now supported his suit to Victor for a divorce from their common cousin, Clementia of Zäringen, who had been some fifteen years his wife, and whose wedding portion, consisting of Swabian fiefs, he had exchanged with the Emperor for

other fiefs in Saxony, as a convenient concentration of property for both, and these fiefs he retained. The plea of the Duke was, of course, consanguinity—in the present case indisputable, they were first cousins, which was, however, as well known when they married as now—his real motives are unknown. His admirers conjecture her sterility to have been the principal; but the word can be used only in an extraordinarily modified sense, for if Clementia had not made him the father of a son, she had given him two daughters, both affianced brides; the eldest, of the Duke of Swabia, the youngest, still an infant, of Waldemar's infant son and heir Canute; and as he had now established the right of daughters to inherit duchies, it might have been supposed that the prospect of his grandson's uniting Swabia with his own Saxony and Bavaria, which from his superior power enabling him to dictate the terms of union, must have absorbed the third duchy, would have been satisfactory to his ambition. But whatever were the Lion's object, he obtained his divorce, and returned a bachelor to Saxony to prosecute his various schemes of aggrandizement. The repudiated Duchess some little time afterwards gave her hand to a Comte de Maurienne; perhaps an indication that the Duke was actuated by jealousy; since he did not, by any apparent haste to marry again, confirm the idea that he was particularly impatient for male heirs.

The Emperor next turned his attention to the Mainz crime. A diet held at Erfurth had already denounced against the murderers of the Archbishop, and against the city that harboured them, all the heaviest dooms of Imperial justice, *viz.*, the *Acht* and *Oberacht*, that is to say, the ban of the Empire and some kind of enhancement of that sentence of outlawry. The sentence had as yet been little more than minatory; but early in the year 1163, Frederic proceeded to Mainz, to put the decree of the Diet in execution. At his approach, murderers, rioters, accomplices, all fled, and within the city only one individual implicated in the outrage could be found for punishment. Without the walls, the Abbot of St. James's and his monks stood their ground, trusting that their complicity, if complicity there were, was unsuspected. But the accusation

was brought against them, and they were unable to clear themselves. The Abbot was in consequence deposed and expelled, whilst the monks were, in a manner, imprisoned in their monastery. They seem to have become actually frantic with terror, for which no adequate cause, unless the consciousness of guilt, can be discovered; and many perished by leaping from the walls, or in other, absurd as unsuccessful, attempts to escape. Those who, submitting to their doom, remained quietly in their cells, were in due time released. The Emperor then turned his wrath, as usual with him, against the city itself; which he treated, if far less rigorously, yet after the fashion in which he had treated Milan. He deprived Mainz of those advantages which as he conceived intoxicated the inhabitants with ideas of their own strength and power. He cancelled all its chartered rights and privileges, razed the walls, filled up the moat, and levelled the houses of the fugitive criminals with the ground. The rich citizens thereupon quitted the degraded city, its commerce perished, and Mainz is said to have been for years a desart, the haunt of banditti and of wolves.

A more pleasing task was, if not quite to redress, yet to alleviate the wrongs suffered by kinsmen and faithful friends. The Polish Prince, Vladislas, had again been despoiled. Boleslas, taking advantage of the prolonged absence of his brother's Imperial protector in Italy, had again seized his duchy of Silesia, and Vladislas himself had died an exile. But his sons, Frederic's cousins, had done good service in the Italian wars, and the Emperor was anxious to reward them. All that their father had been robbed of he could not, hampered as he was by the schism and the still disturbed state of Italy, hope to recover for them; and indeed to their father's suzerainty, which, appertaining to the eldest of the family, was now rightfully vested in Boleslas IV, they could have no right; so that one great difficulty was removed by the death of Vladislas. The Emperor, therefore, instead of invading Poland, opened a negotiation with Boleslas; who, weakened by foreign and civil wars, now offered Silesia, as a vassal duchy, to his nephews in full of all their claims. The nephews gladly accepted it, and divided this portion of their patrimony

into three separate duchies of Northern, Middle, and Southern Silesia. They thus resumed their station as Princes of Poland; but though they and their descendants continued for a time to bear that title, to be summoned to Polish Diets, and, as Poles, to attend them, their German connections, inducing German education and German marriages, gradually alienated Silesia from Poland, more and more strengthening the tie that attached it to the German Emperor, the acknowledged Lord Paramount of all the Polish duchies. For the same weakness that had compelled Boleslas to do this imperfect justice to his nephews, and his continuous broils with them and with his brothers, prevented any attempt on his part to shake off the Imperial suzerainty.

In this negotiation, and in the menacing demonstration that had facilitated it, Frederic was zealously aided by the Margrave of Brandenburg. To him the weakness of the Polish princes, who contended with him for dominion over the Slavonian tribes occupying what is now Pomerania, Pomerelia, and Western Prussia, was matter of supreme importance; and the severance of Silesia from the principal duchy of Cracow, therefore, a welcome lessening of his most formidable rival.

But at this period such chief German interests, as were not individually the Emperor's, turned upon the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. Eagerly he returned from his southern to his favorite northern duchy, the intended nucleus of his kingdom; if, as seems likely, a kingdom, whether independent or not, he did now project for himself. Upon his arrival he found the Obodrites again in arms. Prince Wertislaf had thrown himself into Wurle, sa a strong fortress; and there his obtrusive mesne Lord, Henry, besieged him; with his superior forces, speedily reduced him to extremities; and then, by a promise of personal safety as to life and limb, prevailed upon him to surrender. But he compelled him, together with all the inhabitants of Wurle, to implore pardon bare-foot, bare-headed, with ropes round their necks; in short with every circumstance of humiliation, for which Henry's Guelph and liberal partisans so bitterly condemn Frederic in the case of Milan, where it was not inflicted

upon an hereditary Prince. And further, as his promise had not included liberty, he carried Wertislaf in chains to Brunswick, leaving a German Burgrave as master of Wurle. Pribislaf, in alarm lest any act of hostility on his part, should cost his brother his life, laid down his arms, abandoned his hereditary principality, and took refuge in Pomerania.

The Duke next addressed himself to the decision of a dispute about tithes, between the Bishop of Lubeck and his scarcely half converted or civilized flock. This was quickly settled, but well nigh as quickly did insurrection revive amongst the inthralled Slavonians.

Henry appears to have relied upon Pribislaf's fraternal affection for restraining his warlike spirit, his patriotic aspirations. But if the self-exiled Prince, however weary of banishment, endured it for the sake of his brother, so valueless did the captive feel his actual existence, that by message he exhorted Pribislaf not to place his single life in competition with the deliverance of their country and the re-establishment of the religion of their forefathers. Thus stimulated, Pribislaf sounded the inclinations of his former subjects, and of his hosts, the Pomeranian Princes. The Obodrites were sullenly enduring the yoke, or champing the bit, of the Saxons; the Princes saw that they must be the next victims. Those armed at his call, as did these to support him; and at the head of nearly all the Slavonians of northern Germany, Pribislaf confronted the Lion.

The Duke was surprised unawares. Mecklenburg, and some other fortresses held by the Saxons, fell ere any steps could be taken for their relief. But hastily the Lion summoned his vassals, commissioned those nearest the scene of action, as the Earls of Holstein, Ditmarsen, Oldenburg, and Schwerin, to check the progress of the rebels, whilst he was collecting his more remote forces, conjointly to crush them. And he concluded a new treaty with Waldemar, by which it was agreed that all Slavonians resident beyond the Peene (which seems to designate the Pomeranians to whom other princes laid claim), and especially all the islands upon the coast, should be allotted to Denmark. Waldemar, who at Dole had ob-

tained from the Emperor a somewhat indefinite grant of Slavonian territory, hereupon assumed the title of King of Denmark and the Eastern Slavonians.

The Earls executed their commission to all appearance very completely. Not only did they check the progress of the insurgents, they drove Pribislaf, in seeming despair, back into Pomerania, where he remained totally inactive. Waldemar co-operated by sea, and now the Duke, advancing with a second army, laid siege to Malchow, one of the strong places recovered by the Slavonians. He at the same time, whether in a burst of anger, or as a measure of intimidation, in utter disregard of his own solemn promise, which had in no way been made contingent upon the conduct of others, hung his unfortunate prisoner, Wertislaf, before the face of the garrison. But the death of their prince, fear for whose life might, had he been preserved as a hostage, have been a restraint upon them, in lieu of intimidating, fired the garrison to vengeance. The town was fiercely defended, and the enraged Lion swore never to stir from before the walls until it should be his.

Meantime the four Earls, deeming Pribislaf cowed into complete submission, disdained to use the most ordinary military precautions. Without scouts or even outposts they lay encamped, as if in profound peace, waiting till the Duke should join them to advance with his whole force into Pomerania. But the inaction of Pribislaf was a stratagem, intended to lull his enemies into such security; and having succeeded, he now, burning to avenge his brother's murder, prepared to take advantage of his success. He proposed to surprise the Earls and their army asleep in their beds; and, but for the merest accident, in this also he would have succeeded. A party of non-free Saxons having been ordered overnight to fetch provisions from a distance, started before daybreak, and had not proceeded very far on their way, when they descried the Slavonian host advancing. Some of the party ran back to alarm their own camp, whilst others hurried to the Duke's, there to give notice of the danger impending over this division of his force. The menaced troops had barely time to start from sleep, snatch up their

weapons, and meet their assailants; none to clothe themselves in their armour, seemingly a tedious operation. Their defence, though brave and resolute, was disorderly; they were overpowered, and the Earls of Holstein and Ditmarsen slain; the Slavonians gaining a complete victory, had they known how to use or to secure it. But they fell to plundering the camp; the routed troops rallied, and joined the Duke, who, upon this emergency breaking his vow, hastened to the support of his incautious vassals. He arrived, if too late to prevent the disaster, yet in time to remedy it, and evening saw the victory as completely his, as morning had seen it Pribislaf's.

The Obodrite struggle was over, and the land as far as the Peene, that is to say the whole of what is now Mecklenburg, the Lion's. Henry then joined Waldemar, who had landed at the mouth of that river, and was subjugating the districts to the east of its course, without encountering such desperate resistance as the Duke had found to its west, and therefore without devastating them. When the ducal forces joined the King's, the conquest proceeded with increased rapidity; but Henry did not long co-operate with an ally whose aid he no longer wanted. The Duke of Saxony and Bavaria was suddenly recalled to Brunswick to receive an embassador from Constantinople. It is however somewhat difficult to conceive that the pompous the East Roman Empire should condescend to honour with an embassy a mere prince of the Empire, whose power it had no means of appreciating; to which consideration two others may be added, namely, that the Chronicler who records the embassy ([26]) does not state its purpose, and that it is never mentioned again. Hence a suspicion cannot but arise of the fox's nature just then prevailing over the lion's, of the announcement being a device of Henry's to excuse his deserting a neighbour, as powerful as himself, whom he had no desire to see master of any part of the now sufficiently debilitated Slavonian district. He returned to Brunswick to occupy himself with granting new fiefs, colonizing, and further settling the territory of the Obodrites.

CHAPTER VI.

FREDERIC I.

Affairs of Lombardy—Frederic's Third Italian Expedition—Affairs of Sardinia—Of Germany—The Schism—Henry II of England and Alexander III—Würzburg Diet—Affairs of Papacy and the Sicilies. [1163—1166.

Whilst the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria was aggrandizing himself in Germany, the Emperor's presence was again urgently needed in Italy. The imperially appointed Consuls and Podestàs were too generally intoxicated with power, for the exercise of which they held themselves responsible to a distant master only, upon whose favour they relied. Some of them either lacked the temper and policy requisite to bear, and with mild firmness repress, the provocations that in many cities were offered them, or deemed it needless to exercise those qualities if possessing them; whilst others were deficient in strength of principle adequate to control their own passions, when in a position to command their gratification. By arbitrary exactions, by wanton tyranny, or by audacious profligacy, these officers in many places envenomed the ill-will already borne by all who aimed at independence and dominion, to the Imperial authority, as to the yoke of a foreign monarch. At Milan and Bologna they were murdered by the exasperated people. Archbishop Reginald, upon his arrival, assumed a sort of viceroyalty over all these petty despots, but whether his government was or was not exempt from the vices fatally blighting theirs, is another point in dispute between writers of Ghibeline and of Guelph prepossessions. The strict impartiality, however, with which, in obedience to, and sympathy with Frederic, he adminis-

tered justice, is admitted by all. But it failed to reconcile Lombard minds to German rule; was disregarded by the hostilely disposed, as insufficient compensation for subjection, whilst tending to alienate the previously loyal. These, presuming on their services, had fully relied upon permission to trample at their pleasure upon their vanquished enemies, and resented the restraint laid upon their revenge. In illustration of the degree of licence in which the Ghibelines had expected to be indulged, it may suffice to say that, the Emperor having authorized the Pavians to render Tortona innoxious by razing the walls, rebuilt contrary to his commands, they demolished the town itself as well as the walls. Equality before the law, and liberty without licence, were ideas not yet conceived; and those who revelled in such retaliatory excesses naturally looked upon every attempt to curb the absolute freedom of their vindictive will, as an encroachment upon their rights.

In the autumn of 1163, Frederic again crossed the Alps, but upon this occasion without an army, relying upon the general recognition of his sovereign authority for remedying the ills to which his absence had given birth. But his Chancellor's obnoxious government being the fruit of his injunctions, his own was too much akin to it to satisfy those, who fancied that their fidelity gave them such claims upon his gratitude, as must entitle them to unlimited and irrational indulgence, or in other words who would have had him, as the Guelphs chose to consider him, the Head of the Ghibelines, not the impartial Lord of all. Thus his justice disappointed and therefore offended the loyal, whilst his clemency was insufficient to conciliate the disloyal. He had already spontaneously released all the Milanese hostages except one hundred; their fellow-citizens now solicited the liberation of that hundred; and they obtained it when the deputation presented their petition, as the Emperor required, upon their knees. That the Milanese deeply resented as a humiliation this, then customary, form of seeking favours at the hand of a sovereign, shows the progress which their republican spirit had by this time made towards real republicanism.

In the following April, 1164, occurred an event that

might have relieved the Emperor from the chief difficulties of his position: this was the death of Victor IV, at Lucca. The Archbishop of Mainz strenuously advised that this opportunity of closing the schism, by acknowledging Alexander, should not be missed. Frederic felt the force of his arguments, and despatched a messenger to the Archbishop of Cologne, with orders to make no move in the matter until he, the Emperor, should have had time for deliberation upon the momentous subject. But the two survivors of the Cardinals who had elected, and adhered to Victor, Guido di Crema and Giovanni di Santo Martino, with the Lombard and Tuscan bishops of that party, and some of their German brethren who chanced to be present, including, it is said, the Archbishop of Cologne himself, individually hopeless of obtaining their own pardon from Alexander, were determined to commit the Emperor to their support. Without waiting for instructions from him therefore, in two or at most three days after Victor's death, they proceeded to a new election. The papacy, or rather anti-papacy, their proceedings being clearly illegal, whether Alexander's tenure of his high office were so or not, was first tendered to the acceptance of the Bishop of Liege, who prudently declined it; whereupon Cardinal Guido di Crema was chosen. He at once accepted the hazardous dignity, took the name of Pascal III, and neglecting all customary ceremonial, was hastily consecrated by that same Bishop of Liege, who had shrunk from personally incurring the obloquy heaped upon the Head of the Schism. Rightly had they judged Frederic Barbarossa, whose messenger at his arrival found Pascal III installed as the successor of Victor IV. However anxious to close the schism, however detrimental to his own interests this crafty precipitation, he held himself bound to support his faithful adherents, and acknowledged Pascal as Pope. But even in Germany numbers of both clergy and laity saw that, though doubts had existed as to which of Alexander or Victor was lawfully, or rather least unlawfully placed in St. Peter's chair, there could be none touching the utter invalidity of Pascal's pretended election by one Cardinal, and prelates who had no right of suffrage.

In Lombardy, the aspect of affairs had by this time

become less favorable to Frederic. The fear, the envy, and the hatred of Milan, that had attached her prospective as well as her actual victims to him, had expired with her preponderance; and the Emperor began to take her place as the object of the fears, as his deputed officers very generally did of the hatred, she had previously excited. Even Venice, after promoting and exulting in the ruin of Milan, as the riddance of a detested rival, now began to look uneasily at his growing power. The Emperor of the East Romans could never be cordially and permanently the friend of his brother Emperor of the West Romans; and Manuel stimulated to the utmost all these apprehensions, acting upon Venice, through able diplomatists; amongst the wavering Lombard cities, by gold lavishly distributed. With the nearest of these waverers, as Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, and some others of the Veronese and Trevisan marches, Venice now formed a confederacy, professedly religious, and solely for the support of Alexander against anti-popes; but which presently assumed a menacing attitude towards the Emperor, even whilst all avowed themselves his subjects, avowed the obedience and service paid by their ancestors to Charlemagne to be his right.

Frederic assembled an Italian army and marched against the confederates; but he found them stronger than he had expected, and, what was worse, he saw reason to distrust the fidelity of his own troops. Reluctantly he acknowledged the mortifying necessity of immediate retreat, and of abstaining from any attempt to strike a blow, until he should be joined by a German army in which he could confide. That he and his still loyal Lombard vassals might be able so to wait, he fortified and garrisoned several castles and towns, and sought the friendship of the rival of Venice, Genoa; whilst he endeavoured to keep waverers, both cities and noble vassals, steady, by grants of divers favours,—to towns frequently the right of electing their magistrates.

The Emperor had, repeatedly but vainly, endeavoured to reconcile Genoa and Pisa, admonishing them to refer their quarrels, more especially that relative to Sardinia, to a judicial tribunal, as enjoined by the laws enacted at

the Roncaglia Diet. It seems to have been in obedience to this injunction that representatives of both parties attended at an Italian Diet, when an application for the dominion of the island in question, perhaps as independent of both cities, was made to him. To explain the transaction will require a few words relative to the previous history of Sardinia.

This island had, prior even to its subjugation by the Arabs, been divided among four hereditary princes, entitled Judges—a denomination that becomes less strange when it is recollected that to preside over an Imperial tribunal of justice was the original business of the *Comes*, *Graf*, *Comte*, or Earl; whence *Judex* (judge) might be deemed a synonymous title with *Comes;* in Lombardy, indeed, *Comes-judex* seems to have been the proper title.(27) Under the Moslem rule, these hereditary Judges retained their titles, though not their authority.(28) When the Pisans and the Genoese jointly planned the recovery of Sardinia from the Arabs, prospectively arranging their shares of their future acquisition, the Genoese, probably not anticipating complete success, chose the booty, abandoning the island to their allies. The conquest was completed; the Genoese were perforce content, professedly at least, with the booty they had bargained for, and under the sovereignty of the Pisans the Judges again reigned. When a Pisan noble succeeded to, or supplanted one of the old lines of princes, no unfrequent occurrence it may be presumed, he assumed the same title of Judge. Sardinia thus constituted, had, as a Pisan dependency,—Pisa itself, being included in the duchy of Tuscany—been a subfief of Matilda's: but in the contention for her heritage, to which her death gave occasion, the Popes claimed it, upon the plea that all lands reconquered from misbelievers, were reconquered for the See of Rome. Meanwhile the island had become both a subject, and a theatre, of war. When Genoa saw Pisa mistress of Sardinia, she quickly repented and recanted her injudicious preference of booty to territory. The Pisans refused to admit the recantation, and war ensued both for and in the island; the several Judges owning vassalage to either city, as their individual interest dictated, or as the preponderance of either coerced them.

To this war had for some years been added a sort of subsidiary civil war amongst the Judges themselves, who reciprocally usurped each other's dominions.

It was one of these insular princes, Barasone ([29]) Judge of Arborea, professedly a vassal of Genoa, who now solicited of the Emperor a grant of the whole island as a vassal kingdom, for which, in the shape of a feudal due or tribute, he offered to pay him 4000 marks of silver. Through how many degrees of vassalage Barasone proposed to hold his crown, does not clearly appear; nor did he probably wish that it should. He could not, by seeking to disown the suzerainty of Genoa, risk losing her protection, upon which he relied for support, and which she could only be expected to give, in order to acquire the real suzerainty of the whole, through her vassal's kingship. Neither could he, while soliciting a favour of the Emperor, acknowledge a wish to despoil that monarch's uncle, Welf, of the suzerainty, which he held only by Sardinia's being, through Pisa, a Tuscan dependency.

The Emperor lent a willing ear to the request, but in so doing discovered no disposition to rob either the faithful Pisans, or, through them, his uncle, of any right they might have. The scene as dramatically described by the old annalist,([30]) shows that it was to them he in the first instance proposed the office of conveying Barasone to Sardinia, and establishing him there as king. The Pisan deputation not only refused so to do, but objected to such an exaltation of Barasone, which would, they averred, be injurious as well as disgraceful to Pisa. The Emperor was displeased with the answer; although, considering the candidate for royalty's connexion with Genoa, he might have foreseen the probable tenor; and turning to the Genoese, inquired: "Can you, and will you execute my commands, whether the Pisans will or not?" And eagerly the Genoese replied, "We can and will execute your commands, in spite of the Pisans." The head of the Pisan deputation, startled at this aspect of the affair, now exclaimed: "Lord Emperor, with due reverence be it spoken, how can you give away the property of others? Sardinia is ours, granted us by Pope Innocent II. Neither

should you give crown and realm to an ignoble servant (*ministerialis*) of ours, unworthy of such dignity." His Genoese rival as vehemently retorted: "Barasone is not of ignoble, but of noble birth; many Pisans has he in his service, and Sardinia belongs rather to Genoa than to Pisa." The dispute went on in the same strain, until the Emperor ended it by saying to the Pisans: "I do not recognize your pretensions to Sardinia, which the Popes had no authority to give you; and he whom I, concurrently with the Diet, exalt to the dignity of a King, cannot be your vassal."(31)

At Pavia, the Emperor accordingly crowned Barasone King of Sardinia, and as such the Bishop of Liege anointed him. But the 4000 marks were not forthcoming, and the new King was in some danger of being dragged away to Germany as a hostage for its payment. From this fate he was rescued by Genoa's advancing the necessary sum; but he merely exchanged a northern for a southern prison. Genoa detained him in captivity as her debtor, whilst in his name she now carried on the war with Pisa for Sardinia, and strove to exercise his newly acquired, royal rights.

And here, as well as elsewhere, may perhaps be inserted a Genoese anecdote of those times alike characteristic of their romantic, and sensuously(32) impressionable temper, and calculated to show how little the liberty then so passionately sought by the Lombard cities, resembled the staid liberty—ensuring security of person and property, with equality before the law—enjoyed by free states in modern times.

Genoa had long been distracted by the fierce enmity of two families, the Voltas and the Avogados, which many atrocious outrages, even ending in violent deaths, had confirmed in hereditary virulence. The members and partisans of these races habitually waged war upon each other in the streets, and assailed each other's fortified mansions, to the no small annoyance of neutrals, if in those days any such pacific natures there were. The evil at length became so intolerable, that the aged Archbishop plotted with the Consuls a *coup de théatre* that should force a reconciliation upon the hostile factions. They issued their orders accord-

ingly; and in the dead of the night the citizens were startled from sleep by the sound of the bell used solely to convoke the General Assembly. All hurried forth in alarm to the usual place of meeting, the Piazza in front of the Cathedral, there to learn the cause of the unwonted summons. This none could tell; and whilst every man gazed in perplexity at his neighbour, as perplexed as himself, a solemn procession, lighted by torches, was seen advancing. At its head walked the venerable Archbishop, with the relics, supposed, if not genuine, of St. John the Baptist borne immediately before him, and attended by the whole body of the Clergy, in full canonicals, with waving censers, &c. After the clergy, walked the Consuls and the other Magistrates, carrying Crucifixes. Upon reaching the centre of the Assembly, the prelate staid his steps and spoke. He adjured the leaders of the opposite factions, in the name of the God of peace and mercy, of the salvation of their own souls, of their country and of her liberty, which their dissentions were destroying, to lay their hands upon the Gospel, and upon the hallowed relics now brought before them, and so to swear reconciliation, peace, and oblivion of all past wrongs whatsoever. When the Archbishop ceased speaking, the Heralds solemnly approached Orlando Avogado, the only one of the leaders present, and called upon him to comply with the prelate's exhortation. The people with loud cries repeated and inforced the words of the Heralds, and even some of his factious kindred, touched by the effective scene, added prayers to the same purport. Avogado, overpowered by conflicting emotions, flung himself, in a paroxysm of passionate agitation, upon the ground, rent his clothes, and invoked the spirits of the dead whom he had sworn to avenge, who would never suffer him to forget their wrongs. But the Archbishop, the Consuls, the Clergy, and the Magistracy, pressed around him, exhorting, admonishing, imploring, and loudly supported by the crowd in a sort of running accompaniment, till they fairly conquered his resistance, dragged him to the shrine, and amidst the blessings of the whole people, extorted from him the oath they had demanded.

And now the whole people escorted the again formed

procession to the mansion of the adverse leader, Inigo di Volta. They found his kinsman Folco di Castro with him, and both deeply moved by the reports brought them of the scene just described. In this frame of mind, and aware that their enemies had yielded, their resistance was far less obstinate than Orlando Avogado's had been, and the solicitations of the revered prelate, of the honoured magistrates, speedily obtained from them the oath so hardly wrung from Avogado. The kiss of peace was then exchanged between the hereditary foes. The bells now rang a joyous peal, whilst the procession returned with the reconciled enemies to the Piazza, where the Te Deum was chaunted by the clergy in the Cathedral; and the entire population, thronging both church and Piazza, joined in the solemn strain of thanksgiving.

The hopes with which the Emperor had crossed the Alps, to wit, that he could govern Italy by Italians alone, had been painfully disappointed. He had found the loyal Lombards totally inadequate to the task he had assigned them; and now, having made the best temporary arrangements in his power, he returned to Germany in search of troops with which to reduce the refractory to obedience. But the state of Germany had changed since his departure, and it was not calculated to afford him, immediately at least, the needful support. It was even fuller than usual of feuds, and since the election of Pascal III, much more divided than before upon the question of the schism. He indeed found the potent kinsman, in whose affection he still trusted, Henry the Lion, in untroubled possession of his two duchies and of his Slavonian acquisitions; as able as, he might well hope, willing, to lend effective aid in subjugating and tranquillizing Italy. But this was far from being the case with the rest of his relations and connections. His brother, the Rhine Palsgrave, his brother-in-law, the Landgrave of Thuringia, and his cousin, the Duke of Swabia, were all at war with his Chancellor, the Archbishop of Cologne, who had returned to Germany when his master went to Italy. The cause of this great feud is not positively known; but it has been conjectured to have originated in a certainly somewhat unwarrantable act of the Chancellor's, though not of

recent date. He had, during the blockade of Milan, made prisoners of a party of Milanese Consuls, on their way, protected by a safe conduct from the Rhine Palsgrave, to an interview with that Prince, the Landgrave of Thuringia, and the King of Bohemia, whose mediation they meant to solicit. Whether the Chancellor so acted in real or in pretended ignorance of the Palsgrave's safe conduct, or as denying his authority to grant one, is, and must remain doubtful, no time having been allowed for explanation by the Milanese, who from their walls saw the capture of their magistrates and rushed forth to recover them. If this were the cause of quarrel, the loyal determination not to suffer private dissentions to interfere with the success of the Emperor's plans had induced them to defer hostilities not only till Milan had submitted, but till after the Roncaglia Diet and the suppression of the renewed troubles, including the second Milanese rebellion. But whatever the occasion of their enmity, the Palsgrave and his allies had invaded, and were then ravaging, the territories of Cologne.

The South was disturbed by another feud, in which the Emperor's paternal and maternal kindred were opposed to each other: and which is memorable as first introducing into history the ancestors of the two chief reigning families of Germany; then, as almost ever since, opposed to each other, namely, those of Habsburg and of Hohenzollern. The Swabian Palsgrave, Hugo von Tübingen, having surprised and captured three robber knights, in the very act of plunder, dismissed two of them, who proved to be vassals of his own, unscathed, whilst he hanged the third, who was, like himself, a vassal of the Duke of Spoleto. The Duke demanded satisfaction, which Hugo refused; secretly encouraged by the Duke of Swabia, whose bellicose propensities were insufficiently occupied by his share in the war with the Archbishop, and whose hereditary enmity to the Welfs does not appear to have been mitigated by either the Emperor's Welf blood, or his own marriage to the Lion's daughter. The Duke of Spoleto, foreseeing that this feud was likely to spread, summoned his son Welf from Italy, as of fitter age than himself to undertake its conduct; whilst he, the father, supplying his son's

place south of the Alps, should enjoy a more genial climate, if not a more tranquil region. Welf the younger, upon his arrival, summoned the friends and allies of his family to his assistance, and his call was obeyed by the Duke of Zäringen, the Margraves of Baden and of Vohburg, the Bishops of Augsburg, Worms, and Spires, and the Earls of Feringen and of Habsburg; the last being, both by blood and by marriage, allied to the Duke of Zäringen. These allies are reported to have brought Welf some 5000 horsemen. Palsgrave Hugo, thus seriously threatened, called upon his friends and allies; at whose head is found the Duke of Swabia, amongst them an Earl of Zollern or Hohenzollern, an ancestor of the royal house of Prussia. Hugo's forces were still very inferior to Welf's; a disparity which they compensated by posting themselves in the strong castle of Tübingen. Welf rashly assaulted it, and was repulsed with the loss of 900 men, left prisoners in Hugo's hands, he himself escaping with difficulty.

In addition to these most important and extensive feuds, the Bishops of Munster, Minden, and Paderborn were at war with the fratricidal Earl of Arensberg, who, after illegally imprisoning his own brother, had either caused him to be murdered in his dungeon, or had starved him to death in it. The Bishop of Utrecht was at war with the Earl of Gueldres for the Stewardship of his See; which office having been granted hereditarily was claimed by the Earl of Gueldres in right of his wife, the only child of the last Steward, and held as much by force of arms as by the favour of the citizens of Utrecht; whilst the new Bishop maintained that a woman was incapable of inheriting an office that her sex disabled her to exercise, and that the office and official fiefs had therefore lapsed to the See. Other feuds amongst inferior nobles increased the disorder, but need not be enumerated.

The Emperor at once addressed himself to remedying these manifold evils, for which purpose he summoned all the different parties to a Diet appointed to meet at Bamberg. There he so impressively represented to Palsgrave Conrad and Archbishop Reginald, the principals in the first of these feuds, that it was the especial duty of his

brother and of his Chancellor to preserve the peace of the Empire, and set an example to all others of obedience to the laws, that they renounced their enmity and embraced. The reconciliation of their respective allies followed of course. He next compelled the Swabian Palsgrave to make due compensation to the Duke of Spoleto for selecting his vassal as the sole sacrifice to the violated laws, whilst he pardoned his own, and to release his 900 prisoners without ransom. Then proceeding to feuds in which he was less personally interested, Frederic obliged the Earl of Arensberg to satisfy his episcopal adversaries, by submitting to whatever penance they might see fit to impose, in expiation of his crime. And he persuaded the Earl of Gueldres to pay the Bishop of Utrecht a sum of money, in consideration of his being permitted to retain his stewardship. In like manner, in various ways, by force or by persuasion, he quelled or appeased the minor feuds.

In the first two of these decisions the Emperor has been taxed by some modern writers with sacrificing the interests of his paternal relations to those of his more favoured maternal connexions; although it may be observed, in regard to the first, that no Welf was concerned in that feud, and if Conrad were sacrificed, it was to the Chancellor, Archbishop of Cologne, and an act rather of policy than of affection. But though it seemed right to mention this imputed offence, being mentioned it may be left to refute, or be refuted, by the other accusation, more perseveringly brought against Frederic Barbarossa, to wit, that of malignity towards, and jealousy of, the Head of those maternal relations, the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, whom he had so freely permitted to make himself a formidable rival, even to the Head of the Empire.

The temporal affairs of Germany were thus quickly and easily arranged by the energy of Frederic; the papal schism was beset with greater difficulties, and caused him more anxiety. But even in this thorny business, about the beginning of the year 1165, he had reason to hope for a great increase of strength to his party; had reason to hope for the adhesion of the powerful King of England and of half France to his Pope.

It cannot be necessary to remind the English reader that fierce dissentions broke out between Henry II and Thomas à Becket, as soon as the King had made his Chancellor and boon companion Archbishop of Canterbury; that the gay gallant, the bold monarchist statesman, instantly addicted himself to asceticism, and asserted Church pretensions in the very spirit of Gregory VII. But the immediate connexion of these dissentions with the rivalry of the contending Popes may hardly be quite as familiar to every English reader's mind. It was in the beginning of the preceding year that Henry extorted from Becket his assent to the Constitutions of Clarendon, which the prelate afterwards retracted and fled. Alexander III, in order to secure the constant adhesion of so potent a sovereign, had in the first instance sanctioned these new laws (of the tenor of which he seems, indeed, to have been then ignorant), and blamed Becket's opposition to them. But when he learned from the fugitive Primate their tendency to subject the clergy to the state, and to emancipate the English Church from Papal control, amidst all the perils and embarrassments still surrounding him, the Pope boldly condemned the Constitutions of Clarendon, whatever were the risk, and relieved Becket from his oath of assent.(33) In so doing he threw himself upon Lewis VII alone for support; and for obtaining it trusted to the French King's acrimonious jealousy of his formidable royal vassal, a much stronger sentiment with him than any fear of papal encroachment.

Henry II, indignant at being thus, as he thought, deserted by Alexander,—who can, as yet, hardly be taxed with desertion, having simply withdrawn a sanction given under a mistake—immediately made overtures to Frederic, tending towards his, in his turn, deserting Alexander and acknowledging Pascal. Frederic, to improve this favourable disposition of so important a potentate, eagerly despatched Archbishop Reginald to England, to ask the hands of two of Henry's little daughters; one for his own son and heir, Henry, still an infant; the other for his cousin, the divorced Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. He relied upon the address and the eloquence of his Chancellor, when thus brought into relation with the English

King for confirming his alienation from Alexander, and obtaining even a declaration of adhesion to Pascal. The proposals of marriage appear to have been accepted; for though that with the future Emperor, Henry VI, did not ultimately take effect, the English Princess Matilda, some years later, when of fitting age, became the wife of Henry the Lion; and if Reginald did not obtain the desired declaration, he was, at his return, accompanied or followed by English Envoys, commissioned to attend and take part in the deliberations of the Imperial Diet upon this momentous question.(34)

The Diet in which the schism was to be discussed, and, if possible, decided, was that convoked for Whitsuntide, 1165, at Würzburg. This Diet was numerously attended, and the Envoys of Henry II were present. Frederic in person explained to the assembly the pains he had taken to have the facts relative to the double papal election carefully and impartially investigated, stating further that such evidence of the illegality of Cardinal Rolando's election had been laid before three Councils, two that had sat in Italy and one in the Arclat, as had fully convinced those Fathers of the Church of its nullity. Hereupon the Archbishop of Cologne, starting up with his usual impetuosity, required, in his double capacity of Arch-Chancellor of Italy and of acting Chancellor of the Emperor Frederic, an oath from Emperor, Princes, and Prelates, never to acknowledge as Pope, either Cardinal Rolando or any one hereafter elected by his faction; and another from the Princes and Prelates, never to elect an Emperor who would not pledge himself to maintain this German view of the Papal question. Against whoever should dare to violate these oaths he denounced forfeiture, if a layman, of his fiefs and allodial property; if an ecclesiastic, of his ecclesiastical dignity likewise. He himself immediately, with all appropriate solemnity, took both the oaths upon the Gospel.

The abruptness of this requisition, and the violence of the measure proposed, appear to have startled the Diet, and given rise to taunts and recriminations amongst the members. These did not, however, prevent Reginald's example from being followed. The Emperor, the lay

Princes, and most of the Prelates, took the first of these oaths; and so did the English Envoys, whether empowered so to do, or carried away by Reginald's influence and by momentary sympathy. But two of the greatest among the prelates refused thus to pledge themselves; namely, the Archbishop of Mainz, Palsgrave Otho's brother, and the newly elected Archbishop of Salzburg, uncle to the Emperor, and a brother of Henry Duke of Austria. The former, who perhaps resented the neglect of his advice at the epoch of Victor's death, is averred to have already privately acknowledged Alexander, prior to the meeting of the Diet. At all events he secretly withdrew from Würzburg the night after the scene just described, to join that pontiff in France; a transfer of his spiritual allegiance that earned him a cardinal's hat. But yet more painful to Frederic than the desertion of Conrad von Wittelsbach, was that of his uncle: and during many months continuous endeavours were made by his Imperial nephew himself, and by Henry Jasomir, the prelate's own brother—Bishop Otho was dead—to win him back to the side of Pascal. Henry the Lion alone seems to have taken the Archbishop of Salzburg's part, justifying his attachment to Alexander upon the ground of Alexander's really being the lawful Pope; a plea somewhat inconsistent with the oath of inviolable adherence to Pascal, which he had so very lately, and to all appearance unhesitatingly, sworn at Würzburg; but well agreeing with much of his subsequent conduct, and with what his biographer ([35]) asserts of his real opinion upon the subject. The assertion of this eulogist of Henry the Lion being, that his hero had from the first believed Alexander to be the true Pope, and had acknowledged Victor against his conscience, entirely upon political grounds. Neither such worldly motives, nor remonstrance or representation could influence the Archbishop; and a Diet held in the spring of 1166, pronounced, in imperfect conformity to the recently taken oaths, the forfeiture during his life of all the temporalities of the see, which, as usual, were to revert to it at the death of the prelate who had incurred the punishment, but did not presume to depose that prelate. The execution of the sentence was committed to princes and nobles his neigh-

bours, amongst whom his spoils were prospectively allotted, as stimulants and rewards of their zeal. The archbishopric is said to have been cruelly ravaged in consequence of the fidelity of the vassals to their ecclesiastical prince.(36)

With regard to the more important see of Mainz, the course was easier to all parties. The prelate being less dear to the Emperor, and his disobedience more flagrant, Pascal, conjointly with the Diet that had so solemnly bound itself to his cause, deposed Conrad von Wittelsbach; and Christian von Buch, whom the Diet had formerly appointed Archbishop of Mainz, and Frederic, in obedience to his own Pope, rejected, was again proposed. Pascal had previously objected, not to himself, but to his utterly illegal nomination; and now willingly joined with the Emperor, who had found Christian alike active and able in his service, in recommending him to the Chapter. He was unanimously elected, and presently recalled from Italy—where, at the head of a small army, he was conquering one town after another of the Papal States for Pascal—to be installed in his see. But the new Archbishop becomes, a little later, so leading a personage in the history of the times, and is so strikingly mediæval a character, as to claim a few words of description.

Of the Priest, Christian von Buch seems to have had little, save great diligence in saying Mass—which never, under any circumstances or in any emergency, did he neglect—a habit of animating his troops to battle with hymns and psalms rather than martial songs, and a degree of learning, then pretty much confined to the clergy, and rare even amongst them. He spoke six or seven languages, *viz.*, Latin, Greek, German, Flemish, French, Lombard,—meaning, probably, the as yet unwritten, uncultivated jargon, erelong to be developed into Italian,—and according to some writers, Chaldaic, or the language of the Syrian Christians. As a statesman and a soldier he was inferior to scarcely any of his contemporaries. Endowed with a powerful intellect, and upright in his intentions towards all parties, he was at once a zealous champion of the Imperial authority against ecclesiastical encroachment, and a good feudal Lord to his Ecclesiastical Principality, whenever the Emperor's need of his

service allowed him leisure to attend to its interests. He as vigorously defended the just rights of his vassals and of his flock, as he actively fostered their prosperity. An instance of his merits in this line may be mentioned in his bold and successful appeal to the King of France, for justice to some Mainz merchants, who had been plundered by the Comte de Macon, "whilst French traders," the Archbishop observed, "are protected in Germany." His services to the Emperor and to different Popes will be seen in the course of the narrative. A stalwart warrior, he appears to have habitually worn armour under his episcopal vestments, and in action to have wielded a sort of triangularly headed mace, or club, with which he felled many a foe, and knocked out it is said the teeth of nearly two hundred individual Lombards, besides crushing, maiming, and grievously wounding a hundred rebels in one particular battle fought near Bologna, to say nothing of his feats in many other engagements. So that in his hands the club hardly seems to have answered the purpose for which it was customarily borne by martial ecclesiastics; namely, by not piercing the flesh, to enable them to indulge their pugnacious propensities without disobeying the letter—whatever might be the case as to the spirit—of the Church's prohibition of bloodshed to her sons. Christian's armies are said to have usually swarmed with women of a description that the hallowed character of the priestly General should naturally have banished. But the Archbishop did not suffer any super-refined scruples to rob him of success. He dreaded by the exclusion of these polluted and polluting camp-followers to disgust and alienate the lawless mercenaries and other wild bands that thronged to his standard, and he chose rather to turn a necessary evil to account. He had these wretched women drilled and trained to arms; a scheme which answered so well, that he is said to have been indebted to his regiment of amazons for the capture of two castles.

But to return to the Würzburg Diet, or rather its immediate consequences. Whilst the negotiations with the Archbishop of Salzburg were pending, the Emperor had kept his Christmas at Aix-la-Chapelle; where, by his

desire, and in the name and by the authority of Pascal, the Bishop of Liege canonized Charlemagne; that prototype, upon whom Frederic strove to model himself. Part of the ceremony consisted of the exhibition of the exhumed bones of the dead hero, adorned with the crown and other ensigns of sovereignty, to public veneration. Need it be said that this canonization by the authority of an anti-pope is not recognized by the Roman Catholic Church?

The greater part of the year 1166 Frederic devoted to the concerns of Germany. He appointed the autumn for the assembling of another army destined to reduce the insurgent Lombards to obedience, and actively occupied the intervening months. He compelled Hungary again to pay her discontinued tribute; appeased feuds, regulated the tolls upon the Rhine, the mode of ensuring the preservation of its banks and those of other rivers, and the like, devoting much attention to the general business of administration.

Henry the Lion might by this time very fairly have been an object of anxiety to him, if not of positive jealousy. By his progressive accumulation of fiefs, whether held as ducal territories, or in vassalage of any prelate, and his Slavonian additions to Saxony, combined with his casual occupation of the temporalities of the archbishopric of Bremen,—forfeited for the prelate's life by his default at Roncaglia—his possessions were very superior to those of the House of Hohenstaufen. But the great power of the kinsman he loved appears to have created no uneasiness whatever in Frederic's mind. The only act of his that can at all be considered as indicating a shadow of reserve or caution in respect to this highly favoured Welf relation, is his constant refusal to give him Goslar, the strongest place in Saxony, in exchange for any of his Swabian domains.

The Emperor now felt himself adequately prepared for his fourth expedition to Italy: but whilst he had been fully occupied in Germany, Alexander III, as compensation for the seemingly imminent loss of England, had recovered the proper seat of the papacy, Rome. All the agents he had employed in Italy were dextrous, and the

chief of them, Giovanni Cardinal de' S.S. Giovanni e Paolo, was a man of extraordinary address. By working upon the passions of the Romans and by a profuse distribution of money, he, after clearing the Senate of schismatics, introduced into it so many creatures of his own, that at length prevailing, he obtained the despatch of a deputation to France, whose business was inviting and pressing the Pope's return to his capital. The invitation was not, indeed, couched in the most flattering or the most encouraging terms; inasmuch as it ended with a threat, that if he, Alexander, were not in Rome by Michaelmas 1165, the Romans would acknowledge Pascal as Pope. Alexander felt little confidence in his inviters; but his position in France was unsatisfactory. Henry of England avowedly hesitated as to which Pope he would acknowledge. The constancy of Lewis VII was evidently shaken; and he pressed Alexander, with a warmth that betrayed impatience to be freed from an inconvenient guest, not to risk the loss of such an advantage over his rival as the possession of Rome would give him. Under such circumstances, it was with less alacrity than might have seemed appropriate to the occasion, that Alexander and his Cardinals prepared for their return home.

Nor, indeed, did their voyage thither promise more security than their residence in the Eternal City. One or other of those virulent rivals, Genoa and Pisa, was almost certain to be active in the Emperor's service; and upon this occasion it was the latter, recalled to her habitual loyalty, by the imprudent rapacity of the Genoese. They had treated their insolvent royal debtor, Barasone, so harshly, had sought to subject him to terms so oppressively burthensome, that he had had recourse to the rival city, offering to transfer his homage to her. And Pisa, repenting, perhaps, of her opposition to his exaltation to the title of king, now gladly accepted him as her royal vassal. Thus reconciled to the Emperor and his Pope, Pisa sent out ships to intercept Alexander; but her ships attacked the wrong vessel, and captured only a party of Cardinals, whom they immediately released. Alexander after escaping this danger prosecuted his voyage in safety, but did not immediately make for Rome. He first visited

Sicily, where he relied upon the ill-will borne by the Norman monarchs to both Emperors, eastern and western alike, for ensuring him support. Nor was he disappointed, although the island since his last visit had been convulsed with change.

Maione's head appears to have been completely turned by his success against the Greeks; and now, not contented with the absolutely despotic authority that he owed to his King's weakly fond affection, he had plotted against the life of that confiding monarch, from whom he had by his wanton, or as has been thought,(37) his far-sighted tyranny, alienated all classes of his subjects. The plan Maione proposed to the malcontent nobles was, to murder the King, and place his minor son, Prince Roger, upon the throne, making the Queen-mother Regent. The nobles were pleased with the idea of a minority, and if any among them aspired to the regency, they kept their wishes to themselves, till a favourable opportunity should offer. It is averred, they proposed to create one, by making Maione the next victim to the King, either as an accident in the riot, or openly, as the punishment of his regicide. As for Maione, knowing his influence over the Queen to be unbounded,(38) he might well have been content with the prospect of her regency, as indeed he might have been with the position he already held. But his despotic power had intoxicated him to an actual extinction of common sense; explicable only by the blind infatuation, which conscious superiority to all around them, together with constant success, often induces in really able men. Not only did he habitually risk offending the Queen, if her paramour he were, by his innumerable infidelities,—no beautiful woman could, it is alleged, preserve her purity from his snares or his violence,—it is asserted that he designed to make the princely boy's substitution for King William a mere stepping-stone to his own usurpation, and fancied he could prevail upon the haughty nobles, who seldom mentioned him but with contemptuous anger as "the oilman's brat," to bend the knee to him as king.

Circumstantially to track the foul labyrinth of Maione's complicated intrigues, against the master whose offences

he of all men was least entitled to punish or to judge; against his fellow-conspirators, when they awoke mistrust; and of those fellow-conspirators against each other, as well as against him, would be revolting, and is, fortunately, not an indispensable task. Altogether omitted indeed they cannot be, being essential features, characterising the age, at least in that country. Moreover, the realm in which they were conceived and executed—though no member of the Holy Roman Empire, and only occasionally involved or connected with its history—before the close of this current century formed part of the dominions of the Emperors of the House of Swabia. But a succinct sketch will sufficiently enlighten the reader upon the irksome topic.

When treacherously, or in the audacity of tyranny, Maione had imprisoned, blinded or mutilated, all whom he feared as rivals, he seems to have momentarily interrupted the treasonable plots, he had for some time been carrying on, in order to revel, without a thought of self control, in the fulness of absolute power and of licentiousness. In fact, he had conceived a hope of effecting his usurpation more easily, and had employed one Matteo, a Palace *Notario* or Secretary, to negotiate with Alexander a transaction similar to that between Pope Stephen II and the Frank Pepin. But Alexander scornfully rejected his bribes; whilst at home Maione found the inevitable result of his recent conduct to be general dissatisfaction, even amongst his fellow-conspirators, which the sharp-witted upstart failed not speedily to disover. This dissatisfaction appeared most openly in Calabria, and he looked round for an emissary to treat with, and win back these malcontents, whilst he himself should resume his suspended machinations at Palermo. The diplomatist he selected upon this occasion was Matteo Bonello, a young man of high birth and large fortune, related to almost every noble family in Calabria, who was endowed with brilliant talents, and had acquired military fame, but was deficient in firmness of purpose. Bonello was in love with, and beloved by, Contessa Clemenzia di Catanzaro, an illegitimate daughter of the late King; yet Maione, who admired his abilities and longed for such a confederate, hoped to bind him to his interests

by crossing his marriage with Clemenzia, and offering him the hand of his own sole child and heiress. And, strange to say, Bonello, unsuspicious of course that to Maione his disappointment in regard to Countess Clemenzia was due, proved the instability imputed to him by accepting the offer.

The result of his mission was not what Maione intended and expected. Bonello repaired to Calabria, found the discontented nobles, for the most part friends and relations of his own, assembled, and exerted his utmost eloquence to reconcile them to Maione, by vindicating his administration. But it was a task of less difficulty to the insurgents to refute his arguments, and convince the embassador of the cruel tyranny exercised by the low-born despot for whom he pleaded,—especially in one point, to wit, invariably preventing heiresses from marrying, until they attained an age that would nearly ensure their dying childless, and the consequent lapse of their fiefs to the crown. It is said the insurgents likewise convinced Bonello that Maione alone had prevented his marriage with the Countess, which they undertook still to effectuate. Bonello joined the anti-Maione confederacy, and returned to Palermo its agent and instrument.

Whilst this was passing in Calabria, in Sicily Maione had quarrelled with the ablest of his fellow-conspirators, Ugone Archbishop of Palermo, respecting the regency during the intended young King's minority. Each now, setting the Queen aside, insisted upon it for himself. Maione, annoyed at this rivalry—which foreboded invincible opposition to the subsequent assumption of the crown that he meditated—proceeded to rid himself of opposition, by causing a slow poison to be administered to the ecclesiastical would-be Regent. At this juncture, Bonello presented himself. Maione had heard of his defalcation; but the noble subaltern, by reports, boldly mendacious, of his negotiation, and by vehemently pressing for the immediate celebration of his promised nuptials with the omnipotent favourite's daughter, succeeded in duping his able patron. Meanwhile, he arranged with the prelate, then lingering upon a sick-bed, from the effects of the drug that Maione, as the sufferer

was well aware, had contrived to give him, the assassination of "the Oilman's Brat," whom they both abhorred.

Partly with a view to avert suspicion, partly in order to repeat the dose, Maione visited his victim. He came, affectionately bearing in his hand a medicine, particularly recommended by skilful leeches in maladies resembling the Archbishop's. Warmly the invalid thanked his considerate friend, and evaded for the moment taking the potion, by alleging an utter inability to swallow. He put it by, for the first moment at which he should feel the power of deglutition restored; and he entreated this solicitous friend to remain with him, listen to some difficulties that had occurred to him, as likely to impede the execution of the regicide as projected, and discuss the remedy. Maione, hoping to find a moment in which he might persuade his friend to swallow the poison he had brought, assented; whereupon the prelate secretly despatched a messenger to Bonello, to say that Maione should be so detained till dark, and bid him make his arrangements accordingly. Maione was thus detained till nightfall; then, having satisfactorily planned the murder of the master who owed his surname of the Bad mainly to his intending assassin's seductions, he received his congenial ally's promise to swallow the dose he had brought him as soon as he should feel it possible, and took his leave. He quitted the episcopal palace with attendance provided only for daylight, and suddenly found himself waylaid, surrounded, and attacked by armed men. His servants fled from superior numbers, and the Lord Grand-Admiral fell under the swords of his assailants.

But his enemies had little cause, immediate or ulterior, to joy in their triumph. The King and Queen deeply resented the assassination of their favourite. Bonello fled to a fortress for safety; and the Archbishop, without taking the second dose so kindly brought him, died of the poison he had imbibed before his suspicions of his fellow-conspirator were awakened. In vain the courtly members of the confederacy strove to reconcile the monarch to the loss of Maione, by revealing the traitorous schemes of the unworthy object of his regret; the discovery of which they represented as their sole motive for taking his life.

But at length, when reasoning and evidence had proved equally unavailing, the production of a crown and sceptre, found amongst Maione's treasures, convinced the seemingly imbecile William of the truth of their accusations; whilst his cupidity was tempted with the confiscation of the unprecedentedly enormous wealth that the Oilman's Brat had amassed. It was confiscated; Bonello was recalled and treated with apparent friendliness at Court; the people well-nigh deifying him, as their deliverer from intolerable oppression.

But again Maione's partisans, supported by the Queen, who, it is affirmed, regretted her paramour, whether guilty of purposing regicide or not, won the King's ear. The palace eunuchs, who had been his accomplices in conspiracy, and mistrusted those fellow-conspirators who had turned against him, persuaded William that the crown and sceptre had been designed for a new year's gift to him, and were thus evidence of Maione's faithful attachment, not of treasonable projects. They then found little difficulty in persuading him further, that for his fidelity alone had he been thus treacherously murdered. Bonello now met with studied slights, was required to pay an old, forgotten debt to the treasury; and though his popularity prevented any open attempt upon his life, he saw good cause to apprehend imminent danger. A new conspiracy was hereupon organized by him and his friends, not, indeed, to murder but to depose and confine the King, proclaim his son Roger in his stead, and appoint a regent during the young monarch's minority. In this less sanguinary plot, William's illegitimate kindred, namely, his half-brother Conte Simone, and his nephew, Tancredi Conte di Lecce, a natural son of his eldest brother, Prince Roger, joined. It was successfully executed as soon as attempted, and Conte Simone was Regent for his royal nephew. But the victors had shamefully abused their victory; not only plundering the palace, but, when they had placed the Queen in honourable custody, brutally outraging its female inhabitants, the ladies of her Court included; whilst the extreme ease with which they had accomplished their design, led the triumphant confederates to neglect precautionary measures for their security. Bonello, who

alone amongst them might have been capable of directing the storm he had raised, left Palermo; and, in his absence, the people were, by the third day of the new reign, thoroughly disgusted with his accomplices. The opposite faction, seizing the propitious moment, by a sudden attack mastered the palace, released all captives, and reseated William upon the throne. The boy-usurper was casually wounded by an arrow during the affray, but so slightly, it is said, as not to prevent him from waiting upon his father, with congratulations upon his recovered liberty and power; when a kick from the irritated parent so injured him, as erelong to cause his death. This fearful consequence of his ebullition of ungoverned passion was quite unforeseen by the King, who met the royal mother's sorrowful reproaches with a burst of sobbing tears.

The whole band of conspirators effected their escape, and the loss of their intended minor sovereign, far from damping, served rather to stimulate their energies. The manner of the young Prince's death rendered the father yet more odious to his subjects than before; and a younger brother was left, whose minority would, of course, last still longer for the benefit of the regents. Plots, therefore, incessantly succeeded to plots, and once more roused the King to momentary exertion. At length the royalists succeeded in capturing Bonello, who was looked upon as the soul of all the conspiracies. He was blinded and thrown into prison, where he presently died, as was generally believed, a violent death. William then, esteeming Sicily secure, passed over with his whole force into Calabria, where rebellion, excited and guided by the vindictively mourning Clemenzia, was raging. He was too powerful for her; he crushed the rebellion, and cruelly punished the rebels, his half-sister included. This achieved, William returned to Palermo, and committing the government to Richard Palmer, Bishop of Syracuse, an Englishman, highly praised by Italian writers, and to Maione's worthy creature, the *Notario*, Matteo of Salerno, he sank again into his former lethargy of voluptuous indolence. It is even positively averred that he actually forbade the disturbance of his repose by the communication of any disagreeable

intelligence; and the disheartened faction, deprived of Bonello, and of the Conte di Lecce, who fled to the Greek empire, suffered him to drone away his existence.

It was upon Maione that Alexander had hitherto relied, and his object in visiting Sicily might be to ascertain the probable effect of the all-powerful favourite's fall upon his own prospects. In these he found no change. The King roused himself in some measure from his state of Sybarite indulgence, to receive the Pope with the deferential honours due to the Lord Paramount of the Sicilies and the spiritual Head of Christendom. He ordered a body of troops into the Papal dominions to support him against the Pascalites, and even against the Romans, should need be; and he sent a Sicilian squadron, to escort him to Ostia.

This was the last act of William the Bad's life, unless his summoning the historian Romoaldo, a member of the royal family and Archbishop of Salerno, may be so called: an incident at least worth naming, because the prelate was fully as much celebrated for medical as for theological science;[39] and it was for the relief of the body, and not of the soul, of the royal patient, that his aid was required. In the month of May, 1166, William I died, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, William II, a boy about twelve years old. The Queen-mother, Margaret of Navarre, was named Regent, and whatever may have been her previous faults and frailties, her administration awoke hopes of better days. Conciliation appeared to be the object and rule of her conduct. Political offences she judged leniently, and immediately released all prisoners, recalled all exiles, sentenced for crimes of that nature. She further restored confiscated fiefs, and repealed an oppressive tax; and the tranquillized kingdom cheerfully swore allegiance to William II.

To return to Alexander III. At Ostia he was met by the Roman nobility, magistracy, clergy, and such a body of the people as could scarcely be called a deputation; by all of whom he was, on the 23d of November, 1165, conducted in triumphal procession to the Eternal City, and installed in the Lateran. Established there, he saw his prospects gradually brighten. His presence and his sanction gave a semblance of truth to the religious tinge

which the Venetian Confederation, assuming for itself, had imparted to all recent Lombard movements. Since the departure of Christian von Buch, the Emperor's able substitute for Archbishop Reginald, as his vicegerent in Italy, to take possession of his see, the Imperialists had been inactive, or were weakly commanded; and Alexander's newly supplied army of Sicilian troops easily recovered for him the conquests of the absent Archbishop.

CHAPTER VII.

FREDERIC I.

Frederic's Fourth Expedition to Italy—Lombard League—Frederic and Pascal at Rome—Disasters—Affairs of Germany—League against Henry the Lion—His formidable power—State of Schism—Archbishop Christian in Italy—Siege of Ancona. [1166–1174.

Late in the autumn of 1166, Frederic, accompanied by his Empress, again crossed the Alps, now at the head of an army fully equal to asserting and enforcing the Imperial sovereignty. But again he did not, as was expected, hurl death and destruction amongst his rebellious Lombard subjects. He evidently desired rather to alarm by the display of his power, and so influence, than to coerce by its exercise. His appearance in such strength, and the energy of Archbishop Christian, who, in company with Archbishop Reginald, had already returned to Italy, seem to have sufficed at once to check the progress of the—nominally anti-Pascal—Venetian Confederation, and to prevent the evils it might have occasioned. The cities were, for the moment, quiet; and Frederic would not, for the sake of chastising past misdemeanours, risk impeding his main business in Italy, to wit, installing Pascal in the Lateran, by engaging in hostilities that might prove tedious. He advanced pacifically to Lodi, where he spent the short remainder of 1166, in the administration of justice and decision of disputes, as well between town and town, as between the towns and his own officers.

The most important of the affairs brought before the Emperor at Lodi was again the contest between Genoa and Pisa for Sardinia. The war, which, in consequence of Barasone's transfer of his vassalage to the latter, as

mesne Suzerain of that island, had broken out anew, had proved unfavourable to Pisa, and she it was that now appealed to an Imperial tribunal. The Emperor listened attentively to the arguments of both parties, though the Genoese urged theirs with such reckless audacity, that all present looked for their immediate chastisement, and a sentence in favour of Pisa. But Frederic, calmly observing, "I gave King Barasone those rights only which were mine to give, without prejudice to those of any third party;" reserved the question of the conflicting claims of the two cities for more deliberate investigation, which he directed the two Archbishops of Mainz and Cologne to make. Pending the inquiry, he ordered the prisoners on both sides to be released; a command which both sides disobeyed, even whilst, by the offer of troops or ships to assist in the impending enterprise, both were contending for Imperial favour. In this contest Pisa triumphed; having offered the double of Genoa's proposed contingent, her offer was of course accepted. And this, it is alleged, influenced the investigation, as Pisa seems to have obtained the investiture of her magistracy with the island of Sardinia, for which she is said to have paid a feudal due of about half what Barasone had promised. But surely the original agreement between the cities at the conquest of the island, if it could not give Pisa a right, in opposition to Imperial or to Papal claims, was amply sufficient as a bar to any Genoese pretensions.

In January, 1167, the Emperor quitted Lodi to accomplish his purpose of placing his own Pope in the proper seat of papal government and sovereignty. He sent the two Archbishops, Christian and Reginald, with one division of the army through Tuscany, to visit Lucca, where Pascal chiefly resided, in their way; and thence escort the pontiff either to Rome, or to such place in its vicinity as they should deem most convenient. He himself, with the main body, marched soon afterwards by Bologna and Ravenna to Ancona. That city, if no longer actually held by the Greeks, being still intimately connected with the Eastern Empire, and the very focus of Byzantine intrigue, he there halted, and laid siege to it. To this measure, which, by delaying his advance upon Rome,

proved in the end incalculably prejudicial to some of his views, he was probably impelled as much by his knowledge of the negotiations then in progress between Manuel and Alexander, as by his own chivalrous spirit.

The Constantinopolitan Emperor, though brave as brave may be, had more of the politician than of the knight in his nature. His great ambition was to recover the Sicilies for the Eastern Empire, and in Frederic, as German Emperor, he saw the chief obstacle; in the friendship of the Pope, if obtainable, the greatest possible furtherance to his attainment of that object. He had, therefore, for years assiduously encouraged and fomented with gold, every Lombard tendency to insurrection; he sought for influence in Rome, by giving a niece in marriage to a member of the then preponderant family of the Frangipani. He had latterly gone further in the overtures he made to Alexander. Not only had he solicited the crown of the Holy Roman Empire at his hands; not only had he offered him troops and money to aid his struggle against Pascal; he had actually proposed to reunite the Greek to the Latin Church. Such a reunion, such a restoration of a really Catholic Church, under the Roman successor of St. Peter, could not but be the first, the warmest wish of every Pope, its achievement the greatest possible glory of any pontificate. Alexander must have felt the temptation very strong; nevertheless, he was too clear-headed to suffer himself to be allured even by this, the most irresistibly alluring of all conceivable phantasms. He well knew that the temper of the Greek Clergy placed the reunion nearly, if not quite, beyond the power of the most despotic Emperor; and he dreaded the entanglement which such a disposal of the crown of the Western Empire, lawfully placed on Frederic's brow by his predecessor, Adrian IV, must create. But he made use of the negotiation to obtain more Greek subsidies for his Lombard allies, and thus to determine and expedite their meditated insurrection.

Thus excited and assisted, whilst incessantly stimulated by the prayers of the deeply humbled Milanese, the Lombards grew with every passing day more impatient of extraneous authority, even independently of any mis-

government; and frequently did they suffer misgovernment from arbitrary or repacious German governors, who disregarded the commands of their habitually distant Lord.(40) In numbers far greater than had ever confederated with Milan,—divers of the ordinary Ghibeline towns having gradually imbibed something of their neighbours' spirit of independence—they accordingly now resolved really to emancipate themselves from the sovereignty of the Emperor. This resolution gave birth to the far-famed Lombard League.(41)

Upon the 7th of April, 1167, deputies from Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, the long-loyal Cremona, and some towns of less note, secretly met at the monastery of San Jacopo in Pontide, situate between Milan and Bergamo, where they concluded a convention, the terms of which were pretty nearly as follows: "Inasmuch as it is better to die than to live in shame and slavery, we engage upon oath that every confederated city shall from this time forward assist every other, to which the Emperor or his Commandant, or any one in his name, shall offer fresh wrong: all without prejudice to the allegiance we have sworn to the Emperor." The deputies further resolved that Milan should be restored to her former strength and dignity; and they fixed a certain early day upon which every confederated city should expel all Imperial officials, still without prejudice to their allegiance. This was the first germ of the Lombard League, which plays so prominent a part through the remainder of this century and part of the next. Such a reservation of allegiance, whilst projecting such decidedly insurgent measures, must to the modern reader appear either irony, or a hardly plausible fallacy, introduced for the relief of tender consciences, thus enabling them to delude themselves into the belief that they were still loyal subjects.(42) But in the twelfth century, the relative rights and duties of sovereign and subject were so vague, so undefined, that only Jurists could be expected to form distinct ideas upon the subject. When the absolute authority of the monarch was nearly nullified by the equally absolute authority of great vassals; when those vassals, imitated by the powerful cities, made war on each other and treaties of com-

merce with foreign states,(43)—an anomaly, which however, by forcing the recognition of rights in subjects, probably preserved Europe from Oriental slavery—it really is possible the Lombards might entertain some confused notion of adhering to their allegiance, whilst rejecting all control by the sovereign to whom they owned that allegiance due. To conduct and language so incompatible, according to modern ideas, with the position of subjects, may very possibly be attributed the prevalent impression of the Lombard cities having been so many independent republican states, which the Emperor, without any claim to lawful authority over them, laboured to conquer.

The League, which Greek deputies were urgently persuading Venice to join, proceeded without loss of time to the execution of its plans, beginning with the restoration of Milan. For this purpose it was essential that the dispersed Milanese nobles, who had retired to their castles when the citizens were made villagers, should be reassembled, without awakening suspicion of design. To accomplish this, early in April, a pretended maniac, in fantastic guise, galloped through the country in all directions, everywhere drawing children and rabble about him by the sound of a pipe. The noble in those days came forth like the peasant, to see what was passing, when the pseudo-maniac whispered the appointed day in his ear.(44) Upon this appointed day, the 27th of the same month of April, the Milanese were formally reinstalled in the city, or rather upon its site; when they and their allies set diligently to work, first to rebuild the walls and towers and clear out the ditch, then to repair or reconstruct the ruined houses, the archiepiscopal palace included. It is averred that Constantinopolitan money greatly promoted and facilitated the whole business, if it were not its original instigator.(45) But if so, it rather enkindled than supplied the place of patriotism, which was actively displayed upon the occasion. The women proved the genuineness of their feelings by the sacrifice of their jewels, to assist in new decorating the churches, and restoring the cathedral, which had been accidentally injured in the general destruction of Milan. Tortona likewise was rebuilt and reoccupied.

Every day other cities joined the League, which thus demonstrated its power and its boldness. But the confederates were bent upon gaining Lodi to their cause; the position of that city, which commanded the supply of provisions to Milan, rendering its possession most important to both the League and the Emperor. But Lodi, mindful alike of the favours received from the Emperor and of the injuries suffered from Milan, was Ghibeline in heart and soul; the Lodesans positively refused their adhesion. Their old allies, the long equally loyal, and equally favoured Cremonese, were then commissioned to win these obstinate Imperialists to the Lombard cause; and a Cremonese deputation visiting Lodi, urged the citizens to join a confederation whose sole aim was the general good of Lombardy, its emancipation from foreign thraldom. "You!" exclaimed the Lodesans in reply, "you, who helped to rebuild our city destroyed by Milan; you, who like brothers undertook our protection against Milanese tyranny, who co-operated with us in punishing that tyranny, how are you so strangely altered that you would now urge us to commit unnatural outrages, to break our oaths, and sacrifice our benefactor to our enemies?" This second refusal brought the forces of the League upon the faithful city, whose crops were burnt, whose fields, vineyards, villages were ravaged. Still Lodi stood firm, and ere commencing a regular siege, a third embassy, composed of the nobles and principal citizens of the League cities, repaired thither. Upon their knees these embassadors repeated the arguments and entreaties of their predecessors, whilst threatening utter destruction as the penalty of refractory pertinacity. The Lodesans repeated their refusal to act in any way against their sovereign, the Emperor. The siege was thereupon formed, in numbers sufficient to establish a complete blockade. Frederic was at that moment engaged in the siege of Ancona: and whether he would not be recalled to Lombardy, and involved in quelling its revolt until he should have first installed Pascal in Rome, or that he feared to damage the reputation of his arms, should he raise the siege of Ancona (as to which strong feelings, as will be seen, were entertained), or were unaware of Lodi's inability to endure

a long blockade, he remained in his camp, merely pressing forward his operations to be the sooner at liberty. Ere they had made any progress, Lodi was starved into a surrender. The Lodesans took the prescribed oath, still, their loyalty unshaken by the Emperor's apparent neglect, carefully insisting upon the reservation of their allegiance. The Lombard arms were next turned against Trezzo, which had been rebuilt by the Emperor again as a safe stronghold in which to establish his treasury, and again, with that treasury, it was taken.

Whilst these things were passing in Lombardy, and the Emperor was engrossed by the siege of Ancona, the Archbishops, with Pascal in their company, were advancing slowly towards Rome, gaining adherents to their Pope on their way, gaining him some even within the walls of Rome. It had never been intended, however, that Pascal should attempt to enter the Papal capital without his Imperial protector; the two Archbishops, therefore, left him, with troops sufficient for his security, at Viterbo, whilst they led the bulk of their army to join the Emperor and assist in the siege.

The Papal capital continued meanwhile to be occupied by Alexander; but, notwithstanding his invitation thither, and his pompous reception, he had found there little comfort and less obedience. Despite his entreaties and earnest remonstrances, the Romans refused to move against Pascal at Viterbo; chusing rather to indulge their old neighbourly hatred of the Tusculans, by plundering and ravaging the territories of those old enemies, than to do battle in the cause of the Pope they acknowledged. Such was the devastation they wrought, that the Tusculans, and their Lord, Rainone, applied to the Emperor for aid and redress; which he, conceiving the relief they prayed a matter of no difficulty, directed Archbishop Reginald to afford. The prelate threw himself, with the small corps he had taken with him, into Tusculum; but was besieged there by a Roman army, 20,000 strong, and he made urgent demands for reinforcements. Frederic assembled a council of war, to which he submitted the question, whether it would be proper to raise the siege of Ancona, in order to lead the whole army to the assistance

of his Chancellor. The Council decided that, upon no consideration must the Emperor disgrace his arms by raising the siege; but Archbishop Christian, indignant at such neglect of the peril of his brother-prelate, collected, upon his own responsibility, a body of volunteers, with whom he hastened to Tusculum.(46) Upon reaching the vicinity of the besiegers, so disproportionately superior were their numbers found, that even this warlike churchman offered to treat. The Romans, confident in that numerical superiority, tauntingly replied to his overtures: "It is mighty gracious of the Emperor to send us his priests to say mass to us; but we shall sing to them in a different key. This day shall the Archbishop and his whole army be food for the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air." Upon receiving this answer Christian unfurled his banner, began, as was his usual practice, a hymn, in which his whole army joined, and with his wonted impetuosity fell upon the enemy. Reginald, noting the movement, sallied with his men and the Tusculans to support his friends, and the boasters were terror-stricken at the sudden double onslaught. Their cavalry fled first; then the infantry; and according to the most moderate computation, in this rout rather than action, the Romans lost 2000 killed and 3000 prisoners.(47)

Tivoli, Albano, and other hostile neighbours of Rome—in Italy neighbour and enemy might in those days be almost called convertible terms—now eagerly joined the Germans in ravaging the crops and vines of the Romans; whilst from a distance only, from Lombardy or the Sicilies, could Alexander, implicated upon this occasion against his will, hope for assistance. Both were ready to yield it. The Regent of Sicily saw that the complete subjugation of Alexander would be followed by the invasion of Apulia, in retaliation of the assistance her deceased consort had given that pontiff. She therefore sent him money with which to reward or attract partisans and troops for his protection, offering ships to bring him away, should he wish to remove from the scene of danger.

These vigorous measures of the Sicilian government convinced Frederic that his advance upon Rome must be no longer delayed. He therefore, however loath, after

the sacrifices made to obviate the necessity that he deemed disgraceful, treated with Ancona; accepted, as ransom, or composition, a considerable sum of money, and took hostages for the future neutrality of the town. He then raised the siege, and marched southward so rapidly, that the Sicilian troops, fearing to be cut off, hastily retreated. Pisan vessels at the same time occupied the mouth of the Tiber; and the reunited Imperial army encamped before Rome.

But Frederic's protection of Tusculum, by disappointing the Romans of their anticipated triumph, had changed their political inclinations. They now forgave Alexander his refusal to sanction their war upon that city, and cordially embraced his defence, co-operating with the troops in his service. Churches, monuments of classical antiquity, if the site were opportune, became fortresses; the Coliseum had long been the stronghold of the Frangipani; and a week elapsed ere the Emperor had mastered even the then strongly garrisoned and well-defended Leonine city. But no sooner was he thus in possession of St. Peter's and the Castle of St. Angelo, than he invited Pascal to join him, duly escorted as well for safety as for honour.

The Tiber alone now separated the rival Popes, each occupying a portion of the Eternal City; and Frederic, through the Archbishops, proposed a compromise. It was, that both pontiffs should simultaneously and spontaneously renounce their claims, and the Cardinals of both parties unite in conclave for a free, and really canonical, election. With such election he pledged himself not to interfere, promising moreover, upon its satisfactory completion, to release the prisoners, and restore the booty taken before Tusculum to the Romans. It seems hard, that the prince who proposed this compromise should be represented as the pervicacious adherent of anti-popes as such, and instigator of their election. The contemporaneous Romans appreciated him differently. The proposal charmed the would-be masters of the world, who were already tired of fighting for a choice between Popes; and the offensive as successful protection of Tusculum being now partly expiated, partly forgotten amidst the annoyances that a siege brought in its train, they were again seized with their frequent longing for

a resident emperor. Vehemently they urged upon Alexander the acceptance of the terms, as a sacrifice which it was incumbent upon the pastor to make, for the preservation of his flock. But Alexander, who had no intention of closing the schism at his own expense, would listen to no compromise; and his Cardinals, to whom the proposal had been addressed, replied that God alone could judge a Pope, who was superior to all human tribunals. The answer displeased the Romans; as, indeed, it very reasonably might—the question being not of judging a pope, but whether an individual were pope or no. They repeated their urgent entreaties that he would accept the offer; and when they found their wishes slighted, began to desert in alarming numbers. The nobles, in their urban fortresses, still held out; but the people, now favouring the Emperor, evidently inclined to acknowledge Pascal. Alexander perceiving the impossibility of longer maintaining himself in Rome, secretly fled with his Cardinals, taking refuge in Benevento.

The Romans immediately threw open their gates, and took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor, submitting their republican institutions to his pleasure; when he at once ratified all the rights and privileges of the municipality and people. Pascal, upon his admission into his capital, devoted his attention to, and employed himself in, purifying the altars, profaned by an anti-pope; and then, upon the 1st of August, solemnly crowned Frederic and Beatrice. Frederic, having been previously crowned by an undisputed Pope, Adrian IV, his going through the ceremony a second time upon the occasion of his Empress's coronation, may be conjectured to have been a compliment to Pascal, designed to mark him to the Romans as Adrian's proper successor. It is to be observed however that ceremonies, emblems, ensigns of dignity, both visible and tangible, were to the taste of the age; sovereigns wore their crowns upon all state occasions, at least, and were not unwilling to create the occasion; so that it may have been no more than a conjugal attention to Beatrice. After the ceremony, Frederic and Pascal swore fidelity to each other, and swore further never to seek a dispensation from this oath.(48)

Frederic now seemed really in a position to reduce the Lombards to obedience, and compel the Normans to acknowledge his suzerainty; thus more than restoring the complete empire of the Othos, if not quite of Charlemagne. But the siege of Ancona had hindered him from reaching Rome during the cooler season; and the usual obstacle, the deleterious effect of an Italian summer upon German constitutions, again blighted his prospects. The usual epidemic was now increased by the *malaria* of the Roman *Campagna*, and further envenomed by superstitious fears. A church had been unfortunately burnt during the siege, when the flames melted some metal images of the Saviour and the Apostles; and the troops saw the judgment of Heaven upon this sacrilege, in the marsh fever that was hurrying them to the grave. Common men and camp-followers were the first swept away by this pestilence, but not they alone were its victims. Besides 2000 gentlemen, many earls, prelates, and even princes were of the number; the most distinguished being the Emperor's highly valued Chancellor, the Archbishop of Cologne, and his two cousins, the Duke of Swabia and the younger Duke Welf. An historian may be permitted to add the name of Acerbo Morena, the son of the Otto Morena, and continuator of his father's chronicle.

Frederic, in the midst of his triumphs, actual and anticipated, yielded to this irresistible necessity, and leaving Archbishop Christian with a small body of troops at Rome to protect Pascal, led back the remains of his erst formidable host to Pavia. He continued to lose men by the way, and carefully avoided all hostile encounters. At Pavia he halted; and confident that in the cooler climate of northern Italy his troops would recover their health, he prepared for chastising the Lombard League. To this end he convoked a Diet there, naturally summoning those only upon whose loyalty he could rely. The Marquesses of Montferrat and Malaspina—the last had with his men escorted the pestilence-stricken army from Rome—Earl Biandrate, the *Signori* or Lords of Belforte, Leprio and Martesano, with the Magistrates of Pavia, Novara, Vercelli and Como, appear to have constituted the assembly, in whose presence, and with whose concurrence, the Emperor threw

down the gauntlet to the League. Upon the 21st of September he denounced the ban of the Empire against all the confederated cities, except Lodi and Cremona, which, as having joined it under compulsion, were exempted. He further asserted the Imperial sovereignty, by appointing governors, podestàs, &c., to the insurgent cities.

Those cities, undaunted by Imperial wrath, renewed their engagement, and made some progress in the still vague organization of their confederacy. Upon the 1st of December, Milan, Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Brescia, Bergamo, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Modena, Bologna, and even the favoured Lodi and Cremona—whether still coerced or having changed their politics—by their deputies, signed a document, pledging them to the following points. The first, never to pay money or do service to the Emperor, beyond what had been customary between the death of Henry (49) and the accession of Frederic (that is to say, during the virtual abeyance of Imperial authority in Italy). The second, to expel all Imperialists and confiscate their property. The third, not to make peace or war separately, but to support each other against all foes (no reservation of allegiance now); and to refer all disputes amongst themselves to arbitration; such arbitration, and the general government of the League, being committed to a congress of Rectors, to be chosen from the Consuls, Podestàs, or other Magistrates of the confederated towns. The fourth and last point, was to oblige all inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and sixty to swear to this League.

In Frederic Barbarossa, the spirit of chivalry was singularly, for that age, blended with the statesmanship of the sovereign; but he yielded, upon the present occasion, too eagerly to the impulses of the former, when, with an army thus weakened, he rashly defied the Lombard League. The reinforcements brought him by the few faithful Lombards could in no degree supply the place of the Germans lost by death, by sickness, by returning home with or without leave, and by retiring into monasteries to expiate the sacrilege—either of accidentally burning the church and its contents, or of having warred, perchance, against the true Pope—which had brought down disease

and death upon their devoted heads. With these reinforcements the Emperor indeed ravaged the territories of Milan and Piacenza, in retaliation of the injuries inflicted upon Lodi; but he found the Lombards too strong to allow of his undertaking any important operation. He returned to Pavia, where he was even menaced with a siege, and resolved again to seek support in Germany. He left Archbishop Christian, with the major part of the small residue of his army, to re-occupy Rome and her territory when the season should render a southward move feasible.

But the Lombards, well aware of the object for which he then desired to visit Germany, endeavoured to detain him in Italy, where, with his reduced numbers, they hoped to destroy him. With this view they guarded the Alpine passes: that by Susa over Mount Cenis alone remaining open, because beyond their reach. The Earls of Maurienne, in Savoy, who had acquired the Marquesate of Susa by marriage with the heiress, but not the title apparently, had no connexion with the League. Humbert, the then Earl, who seems to have first substituted Savoy to Maurienne in his designation, as indicative of a more extensive principality, bargained with the Marquess of Montferrat, to keep this road open to his sovereign, upon receiving a sum of money.

Frederic, with forces reduced indeed, quitted Pavia, and marched with all convenient speed for Susa, a large Lombard army threatening to intercept him. As a measure of prevention that should deter hostility, he ordered the execution of two or three of the hostages given by Milan and by divers revolted cities, prior to their present insurrection, to answer for their fidelity; and announced that in case of an attack by the troops of those cities, the lives of all the rest would be the forfeit. The feelings of the modern world naturally recoil from this sacrifice of unoffending men: but again it is to be remembered that Frederic Barbarossa was a son of the twelfth century, when human life was of little account; and that in truth the very meaning of giving hostages for the observance of an engagement, is that their lives are forfeited by a breach of engagement on the part of those for whose faith they are

responsible. Hence even whilst we shudder at the barbarity of an execution, which in the nineteenth century makes the blood run cold, the clemency that had spared the forfeited lives of the whole body of hostages, after the rebellion of those for whose loyalty they were in pawn, is entitled to admiration. And indeed one of the startling facts of mediæval history, is the little regard habitually paid by givers of hostages to the danger to which their revolt, or other violation of compact, exposed the persons so given. Upon the present occasion, however, this was not the case. The menace, and the sanguinary proof that it was serious, answered the intended purpose. The Lombard army abandoned its threatening posture, and in March, 1168, Frederic, with little more than an escort, reached Susa.

But though in the city of a prince professing loyalty, the dangers of the Emperor were by no means over. Just before his arrival there, some treachery was detected in Zilio di Prando, one of the Brescian hostages. Frederic sentenced him to death, and despatched the rest of these unlucky guarantees for their recklessly forsworn countrymen, to Biandrate, a strong town, where it was thought they might be securely held in the custody of a sufficient German garrison.([50]) The Susans, who as Piedmontese sympathised more with their Cisalpine countrymen than with their Savoyard Lord, took fire at Zilio's doom, the rather, perhaps, as occurring upon their domain. They declared that if they had suffered their Earl to promise the Emperor a free passage with his attendants, they would never permit the Lombard hostages to be either dragged out of Italy or detained prisoners in it, and insisted upon their immediate liberation. Frederic very naturally refused to part with the only security—such as it was—he had for his own safety, at least until he should be on the northern side of the Alps; nor indeed was there any good reason beyond inability to keep them, for their being even then released. But the angry Susans upon this refusal conspired to murder him,([51]) or, if that be doubtful, at least to take him prisoner, in the ensuing night. The plot was betrayed to Frederic by his landlord, and as his escort was now too weak to encounter the citizens even of

a single town, he left Susa secretly, attended, the better to avoid observation, by only five persons, and began the ascent of the mountain at dusk. Those of his suite who remained behind kept up the appearance of the Imperial service, to avert the discovery of his departure till he should be beyond the reach of Italian rebels; for which purpose Hermann von Siebeneichen, a genuine Knight, laid himself down in the Emperor's bed to await his intended murderers. The conspirators upon discovering the substitution appear to have been touched by this self-sacrificing loyalty, and spared Hermann's life. But ten others of the Germans left at Susa they seized, and delivered over to the widow of Zilio di Prando, to be dealt with at her pleasure. What that pleasure was does not appear.

With his five companions only, the erst triumphant Emperor re-entered Germany, a fugitive. The garrison he had placed in Biandrate was immediately besieged there with overwhelming numbers, and its resistance overpowered. The hostages, whose lives, now indisputably forfeited, the garrison, either in obedience to the Emperor, or from humanity, or as a measure of prudence, had spared, were of course set at liberty; but the conquerors, far from being softened by the recovery of their friends unharmed, massacred the whole garrison.(52) The fierce wrath of the Lombards thus slaked, the remainder of the Germans who had attended the Emperor to the neighbourhood of Susa, were permitted to take refuge in Ghibeline cities, and in the service of Ghibeline nobles.

The exultation of the Lombards at this final triumph, for which they forgot that they were mainly indebted to the Italian climate and the Roman *malaria*, knew no bounds. All Imperial officers were forthwith expelled, the loyal struggles of Lodi finally crushed, the domains of Biandrate conquered, and the Earl himself, as also Marquess Malaspina, constrained to join the League. The Marquess of Montferrat and the city of Pavia, alone in Lombardy, remained loyal. Milan was now completely fortified, the League further organized, and every pretence of continued allegiance almost openly discarded; every appeal to any Imperial tribunal, upon whatsoever plea, being prohibited. As though their arms alone had

vanquished the whole power of the German Emperor, the Lombards now looked down upon the Constantinopolitan Emperor as an insignificant ally; or perhaps suspected his purpose of succeeding to the sovereignty they had wrested from Frederic. Any gratitude, they might be supposed to owe him for various most seasonable succours, was wholly superseded by republican pride and self-confidence. The Milanese insulted his bust, and the Congress of the League forbade its members to treat with him without especial permission.

But, if the Emperor had quitted the southern portion of his Empire unwillingly, he had not sought the northern before it required his presence. He appeared there indeed, shorn of the glories he had hoped to bring home, and that in great measure through his own fault; first, by so losing time in the siege of Ancona, as to delay his visit to Rome until the sickly season; and secondly, by menacing the Lombard League when he was not in a condition to strike. But he showed himself, nevertheless, on his arrival, "every inch a King," resolute as ever to enforce obedience to the laws, abstinence from private warfare included. Such sovereign interposition was especially needed in the north of Germany, where civil war was even then raging; the transgressor of the realm's peace being his favoured kinsman, the potent Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. The Lion represented himself, however, as the aggrieved party; and with respect to the actual breaking out of hostilities, he in some measure was so; inasmuch as the princes, whom he had separately wronged, had, in order to recover their losses, united to attack him, whilst, as they hoped, not fully prepared for war with such a coalition.

This ambitious prince, indisputably the original aggressor,—who, at the Emperor's last departure for Italy, had recently celebrated his marriage with Princess Matilda of England—had not accumulated the mass of domains that excited the jealousy of his compeers, and might reasonably have caused some apprehension to the Emperor, without provoking proportionate enmity in the jealous. Whilst Frederic was present in Germany, this enmity had been sullenly smothered; but awaited only his being called away, to explode. Accordingly, no sooner was their

sovereign beyond the Alps, immersed in Italian politics, in the struggle against Italian rebellion, than the Margraves of Brandenburg and Misnia, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, with other princes and prelates of less account,—but all of whom had suffered from the violence, or the manœuvres of the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria—burst into his dominions. Simultaneously with their invasion, broke out an insurrection to which Waldemar, incensed at Henry's desertion of him the preceding year, had stimulated Pribislaf; to whose support the Danes hastened on one side as did the Pomeranians on the other.(53) All seemed to prosper with the allies. The Landgrave surprised and took Haldensleben; the Earl of Oldenburg occupied Bremen for the Archbishop, who had forfeited it, and was joyfully welcomed; the citizens having found the Lion a far more oppressive and more rapacious master than their banished ecclesiastical prince.(54)

Both as a warrior and as a politician, the Duke met his enemies with all the boldness with which he had provoked them, and fortune still favoured him. The Slavonian insurrection, as fomented and aided by Denmark, he deemed the most fraught with peril; and with it therefore he began, dealing with it in the latter character. A quarrel with Norway dividing Waldemar's attention, prevented his supporting Pribislaf as efficiently as he had promised; and Henry, seizing the opportunity, appeased, by all sorts of concessions, the wrath of his royal neighbour, and induced him to conclude a new treaty of peace. He next bought off the Pomeranian princes; and having thus stripped Pribislaf of all assistance, he, by the generous offer of a pardon, with the renewed and somewhat enlarged grant of part of his father's dominions in fief, converted a dangerous insurgent into a grateful vassal. Whether Pribislaf received baptism seems doubtful; but Christian or Heathen, he never again broke his oath of fealty. The insurrection thus suppressed, Henry, at the head of his collected forces, attacked the enemies who from the eastern side had invaded his duchy, and drove them before him as far back as Magdeburg. Then leaving them upon the territory of the Archbishop, he

turned westward, and presently scared the Earl of Oldenburg from Bremen. Entering the evacuated city, he, without the indispensable legal reference to Diet or Emperor, by his sole authority, laid it under the ban of the Empire, and exercised such severities, that the citizens were glad to redeem themselves from his vengeance by a fine of 1000 marks of silver. Finally, asserting that Archbishop Hartwig, even in his retirement at Hamburg, was preparing to recover the temporalities of his see by arms, and that the Bishop of Lubeck had refused to do him homage for those belonging to his, he successively attacked these prelates, destroyed the few fortresses still remaining to the Archbishop, compelled him to fly to Magdeburg for shelter, and took possession of the diocese of Lubeck. The ravages committed by both parties during this campaign are described as unusually horrible.

This was the state in which Frederic found northern Germany, when, in the spring of 1168, escaping from assassination at Susa, he returned in a condition so seemingly depressed, that those most conscious of having broken his laws, perhaps flattered themselves he would shrink from the task of enforcing them. But his spirit, as before intimated, was undepressed. He at once summoned all parties before a Diet to be held at Frankfurt. He there impressively remonstrated with them, one and all, upon the contempt of his exhortations to preserve the peace of the Empire, shown in their breach of his laws prohibiting private wars. He reproached them with having withheld, for use in their feuds and hostilities, the troops that should have reinforced his army, when weakened by sickness; and thus exposed the Head of the Empire to disgrace, from his inability duly to chastise the Italian rebels. These reproaches he more especially addressed to the allies, as having been, if not the original aggressors, yet the first to begin hostilities; and upon his steadily asserted principle that an illegal attempt at self-redress forfeited the right to legal redress, he refused to listen to the complaints and statements by which the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria's enemies would fain have palliated, if not justified their conduct. Finally, he com-

manded the restitution of all conquests on both sides, and the re-establishment of the *status quo ante bellum*.

To this assertion of sovereign authority all bowed. To Henry the sentence brought rather more gain than loss: but, even had the latter preponderated, he might have rejoiced to be so cheaply relieved both from a formidable league of aggrieved rivals, and from any, possibly, apprehended consequences of his mischief-working defalcation in Lombardy. The confederated princes, fearing that resistance on their part would impel the Emperor more decidedly to support the Duke, judged it best to wait for a more favourable opportunity of seeking that legal redress, now refused as the penalty of their own conduct. All submitted, except the Earl of Dasemberg; and him, thus left single-handed in the struggle, the Lion promptly obliged to follow their example. Tranquillity was thus restored throughout the greater part of Germany.

That is to say, intestine tranquillity, for to live really at peace with all his neighbours seems to have been to Henry the Lion an actual impossibility. He now engaged in war as the ally of the King of Denmark: who, having settled his quarrel with Norway, addressed himself to completing the subjugation of Rügen; which various accidents, his desertion by the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria being one, had hitherto interrupted. The Duke now joined Waldemar in extirpating Slavonian idolatry from its last and chiefest stronghold, on the remotest point of this singularly shaped island. Professedly, he did so as amends for his desertion of him, amidst their last war against the Slavonians: but he seems to have been actuated by the wish to share the spoils; since, the Pomeranian princes lending their aid, in expectation of obtaining the island in vassalage of the Danish crown, the success of the enterprise was nearly certain. Jointly the conquest was completed; but Waldemar was as unscrupulously rapacious as Henry; when he no longer needed assistance he both disappointed his Pomeranian allies of their recompense, and arrogantly refused the Duke any participation in the booty, lands, contributions, or ecclesiastical patronage. Henry thereupon invited his Slavonian vassals to

resume the piratical incursions of their Heathen forefathers upon Denmark. Delightedly they complied; spreading such desolation through Waldemar's dominions, that, upon one market day at Mecklenburg, seven hundred Danes were sold as slaves. The annoyance brought Waldemar to terms. He agreed to divide the Rügen hostages, tolls, and dues with Henry: and the affianced bride of his son Canute having died in infancy, he accepted for him, in her stead, the Duke's eldest daughter, the widowed Duchess of Swabia. Henry, at the same time, gave an illegitimate daughter in marriage to a son of Pribislaf

And now, at length, the whole Slavonian district, since forming the duchies of Mecklenburg, was incorporated with the duchy of Saxony, to which some of the Pomeranians appear to have been tributary. Piracy was strictly prohibited; the fisheries, trade, and agriculture were actively encouraged. Pribislaf built towns; Henry castles, cloisters, and churches, whilst founding bishoprics; and, in the last three, placed German clergy to convert those who were still idolaters, to instruct and confirm in Christianity those already converted. He granted uncultivated districts at fixed rents, with the privilege of electing their own magistrates,(55) to Hollanders, Flemings, and Frieselanders; and the colonization of Slavonian lands with Germans, which had been so long in progress, was completed. The provinces flourished wonderfully.

But, if Henry the Lion were thus successful in the north, in the south his injudicious economy was preparing a grievous disappointment for him. Welf Duke of Spoleto, it will be recollected, early appeared in the unamiable character of an uncle, endeavouring to usurp Bavaria, the patrimony of his infant orphan nephew, who probably never forgot the attempt; and though subsequently Welf appears for some considerable time to have conducted himself in an unobjectionable manner, the original taint, intense selfishness, remained. When his only son died at Rome, he sought oblivion of his sorrows in excitement and sensuality. He abandoned all political concerns, separated himself from his wife, the equally bereaved mother of Duke Welf,—to whose physical efforts

some authors have, it will be remembered, asserted that he owed his safety at the fall of Weinsberg—filled his Court with dependent boon companions and courtesans, and lavished such extravagant sums upon these associates, upon dress, banquets, hunting parties, entertainments, and orgies of all descriptions, that his ample means were soon exhausted, and he found himself deeply involved in debt. He applied for assistance to him, who, since his only child's death, was his natural heir, his brother's son, the powerful Duke of Saxony and Bavaria; coupling his request with a promise of bequeathing him his large share of the Welf patrimony. Henry closed with the proposal, but delayed upon various pretexts to perform his part of the contract; trusting, perhaps, that the death of his now hard-living old uncle would prevent its necessity.(56) The Duke of Spoleto, harassed and irritated by repeated disappointment, now applied to his sister's son, the Emperor, to whom he owed his Italian possessions, and against whom, just before his son's death, he is believed to have caballed with Alexander III. This application was immediately successful; and either through kindness or policy he was relieved from his embarrassments. The effect was every way happy. The aged Duke was, perhaps, the more touched by the liberal act, from the really austere morality of his Imperial nephew, and his mind apparently recovered its tone. Sickening of the licentious pleasures in which he had been wallowing, he dismissed his profligate associates, invited back his Duchess Uta, distributed alms, endowed churches and cloisters; and, in natural gratitude for many benefits, named Frederic Barbarossa his universal heir. The tenor of the Duke of Spoleto's will was, it should seem, no secret; and the example was followed by his brother-in-law, Rudolph Earl of Pfullendorf; who, having no children by his wife, a sister of Jutta Duchess of Swabia, named Jutta's son, the Emperor Frederic, his heir. The anger of Henry the Lion, at his uncle Welf's thus disposing of possessions that he had deemed his future property, would not be lessened by the consciousness that he had lost them through his own fault. His resentment is said to have been attested by a prohibition ever to give the, till then favourite, family name of Welf

to any of his descendants; and it is at least certain that none of them have ever borne it.

These bequests following his inheritance of the duchy of Swabia and the Franconian family fiefs from his deceased childless cousin, together with the lapse to the crown of various scattered fiefs for want of male heirs, and the occurrence of some opportunities to purchase or exchange, had gradually gathered in Frederic's hands, prospectively at least, a mass of domains, that balanced those of the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and enabled the Emperor to ensure an adequate provision to his five sons, against they should be of man's estate. At the Whitsuntide Diet, held at Bamberg, A.D. 1169, the eldest, Henry, still a child, was, upon the proposal of the Archbishop of Mainz, then in Germany, elected King of the Romans;(57) and, on the 15th of August, crowned at Archen by Philip von Heinsberg, who had succeeded Reginald von Dassels as Archbishop of Cologne. To the second son, Frederic, was assigned the Duchy of Swabia, with the Welf fiefs of the Duke of Spoleto and the heritage of the Earl of Pfullendorf; to the third, Conrad, the family fiefs in Swabia and Franconia, whether with or without the title of Duke of Franconia, seems doubtful, in this prospective allotment amongst children, for the most part still in the nursery; to the fourth, Otho, his mother's county of Burgundy, to which was attached the rectorate or Lieutenancy of the Arelat (that of Upper Burgundy remaining in the Dukedom of Zäringen), and, according to some writers, a promise of the kingdom of either the Arelat or Burgundy.(58) To the fifth son, Philip, then just born, a few lapsed fiefs were secured, as a temporary provision; but the Emperor seems to have had an idea of educating this little prince for the Church, with the view of hereafter seating him in St. Peter's Chair.

During the seven years that Frederic now passed in Germany, he resided much in Swabia; which he esteemed convenient, as in some measure a central position, and to which he was attached as his hereditary duchy. It flourished under his fostering care, and the city of Ulm, especially, attained to the level of long prosperous rivals. But his paternal solicitude was not limited to his family

possessions. The Empire was indebted to it for many improvements, for the remedy of many crying evils. He destroyed numerous strongholds of robber-knights, and prevailed upon some of the princes so far to follow his example in repressing outrages obstructive of civilization and prosperity, as to impose heavy fines upon such of their knights as should plunder travellers. At the same time he encouraged and patronized to the uttermost the *Reichsritterschaft*, or immediate Chivalry of the Empire: the nobly born but poor, who were ready to serve in any war, under any prince, in fact to live by their swords, as much as did the robber-knights, only lawfully instead of unlawfully; and who offered both an imperfect substitute for a standing army and the material out of which one was to be formed, or at least officered.

Another great evil of the epoch was the oppression of Cloisters by their noble Stewards. The remedy which Frederic proposed for this grievance was to make all monastic establishments immediate vassals of the Empire; attaching a general Stewardship to the Crown, to be exercised by Deputy-Stewards, responsible for their conduct to the Emperor. This was a course, which many cloisters for both sexes had petitioned him to adopt in their respective cases. The scheme was, however, found impracticable as a whole, being opposed by what in modern phraseology would be termed vested rights; viz., rights reserved to themselves and their families, by Princes and Nobles, when founding or endowing such establishments. He was therefore obliged to rest content with making the change for individual religious houses, wherever it appeared to be feasible. In many parts of Germany, he renounced by charter a highly valued but often most oppressively used prerogative of the crown, to wit, the right of disposing of vassals' daughters and widows in marriage.[59] And to divers cities he granted divers chartered rights, especially to Worms, which he pretty nearly emancipated from the authority of its Bishop.

It was about this period that the wealthy freemen who neither held nor granted fiefs, *anglicè* freeholders or franklins,—still, notwithstanding the progressive changes, an important body—began to adopt the names of their

castles or mansions as family surnames; and henceforth the task of the genealogist is easy. The nobility had earlier taken this means of distinguishing races; or it should, perhaps, be said the higher nobility had thus set the example, for Pfister calls these freeholders a middle order of nobility, in fact constituting the German Baronage—the German form of the title Baron being *Freiherr*, and *Freifrau*, literally free sir and free dame or woman.(60) The pride which these franklins still took in their freedom, —the offspring of the early German horror of vassalage— though much declined from what it was when, in the tenth century, his son's acceptance of an Imperial fief drove the haughty Etico into a monastery (61)—is happily illustrated by a trifling anecdote of Frederic's reign; which will therefore, whether or not belonging precisely to these seven years, here find an appropriate place. It offers a whimsical contrast to the complicated scheme of feudalism, which allowed not only the great Duke of Saxony and Bavaria to be the vassal of bishops within his own duchies, but even the mighty Emperor himself to hold lands as *Truchsess*, or Sewer, to the Bishop of Bamberg.

As Frederic was one day riding towards the Swiss city of Constance, a man, sitting at his own gate by the roadside, doggedly refused to rise, make obeisance, or show any of the usual tokens of respect, as the Emperor passed. He was sharply rebuked by the Imperial attendants, and brought before the Emperor to answer for his irreverence. Boldly he said, "I pay thee not the honours required, because from me they are not due. I owe the Emperor military service, but nought further; for I, the *Herr von* (Lord of) Keukingen, am no one's man (*i. e.*, vassal), not even the Emperor's." Frederic praised his spirit of independence, wished he had many such to serve him in the field, and added, "That you may serve me there the more effectively, accept a fief from me." The Lord of Keukingen was not quite as sturdy as old Etico, and accepted.

During these seven years, Frederic maintained internal peace and order unbroken; everywhere he enforced submission to the Imperial authority, and compelled the ever-resisting Poles, and Bohemian Czechs, to acknowledge,

and the latter to obey, his sovereignty. But still, even here the schism was his bane. Many individuals, if not a large body of the German clergy, were convinced that, whatever Alexander's election might have been, Pascal's was certainly illegal; and Frederic felt bound to assert the lawful authority of the Pope he acknowledged. Several Cistertian Abbots were therefore deprived of their monasteries, and the Bishop of Passau was deposed, as partisans of Alexander. The Emperor's uncle, Conrad Archbishop of Salzburg, unshaken in his conviction by the forfeiture and spoliation he had suffered, died a faithful adherent of Alexander's, in the abbey of Admont, to which he had retired. Thereupon the Chapter, Clergy, and Vassals of Salzburg, imbued with their lost pastor's opinions and spirit, hastily united to elect as his successor, his nephew, Prince Adalbert of Bohemia. To Frederic the choice was agreeable, and he invited his youthful ecclesiastical relation to Bamberg, where he was then holding a Diet, to receive investiture of his temporalities. Adalbert obeyed the friendly summons; but he, as his electors probably well knew, entertained the same opinions as his deceased uncle concerning the schism. He had, immediately upon his election, applied to Alexander for consecration; had received it, and appeared at Bamberg wearing the pall sent him by the Emperor's enemy. Frederic had no choice but to refuse investiture to the prelate elect, consecrated by a Pope whom he did not recognize as such. He refused even to receive Adalbert, although he came accompanied by his royal father, the faithful and valuable friend of Frederic, to whom he owed his royal dignity. Subsequently the princely archbishop either changed his opinion upon the schism question, or thought proper to submit to Imperial authority. He renounced his spiritual allegiance to Alexander, acknowledged his rival, and was invested with the temporalities of his archbishopric.

CHAPTER VIII.

FREDERIC I.

New Anti-Pope—Henry II and Schism—Affairs of Italy—Siege of Ancona—Failure of Henry the Lion—Emperor's defeat at Legnano—Closing of the Schism. [1168—1178.

HAVING brought down the affairs of Germany to the close of Frederic's seven years' residence there, it now becomes necessary to turn back in point of time, and take up those of the schism of Italy.

In September of 1168, the death of Pascal offered another opportunity of closing the schism. But the Cardinals of his party either were irrefragably convinced of the invalidity of Alexander's election, which it must be admitted could not be altered by the deaths of his rivals; or felt themselves too far committed against him to be cordially forgiven; or perhaps simply thought it would be easier to negotiate, with a sacrifice to offer, than empty-handed. By whatever motive they were actuated, they hastened to give their deceased pontiff a successor in the Abbot Giovanni di Struma, who took the name of Calixtus III. The Emperor, as before, at once acknowledged the new Anti-Pope, and, with the co-operation of the King of England, hoped to be enabled ultimately to subdue the hostile, and obtain the general recognition of a friendly, Head of the Church.

But the powerful ally upon whose assistance he reckoned was, if not already lost, yet no longer in a condition to afford him effectual support. Henry II's energies were so absorbed by his contest with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he hourly found himself weaker, as to incapacitate him for taking any active part in favour of Calixtus. Neither could he, how much soever he himself might feel individually bound by the oaths of his embas-

sadors, hope, under such circumstances, to prevail upon his clergy to change their Pope at his bidding, in opposition to their national head, the Primate, Thomas à Becket. Nor did he, probably, at the moment very much desire it, since that oath had seemingly induced Alexander to woo the continuance of his adhesion, at the cost of some duplicity. He had, by letter, relieved Henry II from his excommunication—then an object important beyond what in modern times it is easy to imagine—and the absolved monarch was ignorant that Alexander had at the very same time written to Thomas à Becket, authorizing him upon landing in England, to launch the enathema anew, and rigorously inforce it. (62) Frederic received no more aid from England in the Papal question: for two years later,—to anticipate a little in order to dispose of a somewhat extrinsic branch of the Schism subject — A. D. 1170, the assassination of the unmanageable Archbishop involved Henry II in such difficulties, that he found himself under the necessity of not only acknowledging Alexander, but, in lieu of selling his acknowledgment, of purchasing its acceptance and his own readmission into the bosom of the Church. The price, in addition to pecuniary contributions to the defence of Palestine, was both the performance of a penance little less humiliating than that for submitting to which the Emperor Henry IV has been so mercilessly condemned as mean-spirited and dastardly, and the degradation of admitting that he held England in vassalage of the Papal See.(63)

Frederic had either already seen reason to apprehend the desertion of his ally, or learned from experience that the schism was a millstone about his neck, of which, even at the price of some sacrifice, it was necessary to get rid. He now seemingly despaired of obtaining an indisputably legal election by a joint abdication; and therefore, even whilst professing adhesion to Calixtus, commissioned the Bishop of Bamberg and the French Cistertian Abbots of Citeaux and Clairvaux to convey to Alexander an intimation that, despite the Würzburg oath, he was not unwilling to treat for a reconciliation. They were to add a suggestion relative to the reciprocal recognition and confirmation of each other's ecclesiastical appointments and

regulations, in case of Alexander's being acknowledged by the Emperor. Alexander, his natural arrogance inflated by the circumstances that somewhat embarrassed, if they did not depress, Frederic, rejected the idea, refused to make any contingent arrangement, and coldly said: "The whole world has acknowledged me as rightful Pope; and when the Emperor, as in duty bound, shall have concurred with the whole world, I shall, as is his due, honour him above all other princes."

Many things occurred to confirm Alexander in his inflexibly obstinate refusal. Frederic's seven years' absence from Italy had afforded the Lombard League time and leisure to enlarge and strengthen itself. Milan, as a bulwark betwixt herself and those whom she despaired of seducing from their allegiance, namely, the Marquess of Montferrat, married to one of the Emperor's Austrian aunts, and her rival Pavia, had induced the Lombards to build a strong intervening fortress. This fortress was now completed, fortified, and even abundantly peopled, inhabitants flocking thither from all parts of Lombardy. To mark their sense of the invaluable support received from Alexander, who appears to have been well-nigh the very soul of this Anti-Imperialist Confederation, the Congress of the League named the new city Alessandria, and made a gift of the sovereignty over it to the Papacy; whilst they guarded against any risk of reconciliation betwixt the Pope and the Emperor, by obstructing the Alpine passes, to prevent or intercept negotiation. Alexander, in return for the gift, created his urban namesake a bishopric, and granted the citizens by charter the right of electing their own magistrates. The exulting League seems now to have entertained, if it still did not quite publicly confess, a wish for real republican independence, and Milan took a large step that way in forbidding all mention of the Emperor's name. The League meanwhile proceeded with its, as yet very imperfect, self-organization, evidently contemplating a prolonged state of war, such as must render personal service in the field very inconvenient to money-making citizens. Preparation was made for avoiding this troublesome consequence of war by engaging mercenary troops of infantry.

Of such mercenaries the supply was, like the demand, increasing. Brabançons are mentioned in the civil war between the Empress Maud and Stephen for the English crown, as employed by the latter; as they afterwards habitually were by Henry II of England, to the defence of whose widely outspread dominions the limited feudal service of vassals was utterly inadequate; and who, in his wars with his Liege Lord, the French King, had not perfect confidence in the fidelity of his own French vassals. In Italy, as far back as the year 1143, they appear to have been employed by Venice, always deficient in land forces, and acquainted with the use of mercenaries through her intercourse with Constantinople, where they had long been nearly the only troops. But now bands of Brabançons, consisting for the most part of idle vagabonds of all descriptions, intermixed with villeins enfranchised by performing a crusade, and the like, officered, possibly, by Robber-Knights, and by landless knights desirous of employing their "bread-winner"(64) swords more lawfully, appear in the pay of all wealthy Lombard cities, and will henceforward continue so to appear, though not yet to the exclusion of burgher warriors. The Emperor found it necessary to oppose the rebellious towns by similar means, and encouraged vassals to commute their service for money, with which, besides remunerating poor knights and vassals willing to prolong their service at his expense, he hired Brabançons. His armies in Italy were now no longer exclusively feudal, though, as will be seen, too much so for success in his objects.

The Lombard League now invited all Italian cities to join it in resisting foreign tyranny; and Alexander underhand excited them to accept the invitation. Many cities of Romagna accordingly became members of the confederacy, whilst the Tuscan, with a few rare exceptions, remained loyal. But this presumptuous League had little power beyond stirring up insurrection; so impotent was it to control its own members, that, in the intervals of hostilities with the Emperor, in direct contravention of the League laws, the confederated cities will almost as often be found at war with each other, as with neutral or Ghibeline cities or nobles. And so little did the republican

liberty, for which they so passionately struggled, resemble what is now understood by the words, that the only existing restriction upon the despotic authority vested in the republican, that is to say popularly elected magistrate, whether Consul or Podestà, lay in the insurrectional temper of the people. The magistrate who gave offence, whether reasonably or not, was frequently murdered, occasionally first tortured; and the Podestà, in whom was vested the power of capital punishment, in token of which a naked sword was borne before him, knew no other way of discharging the duty incumbent upon him of administering justice, than to raise the obedient portion of the population in arms, and at its head wage war upon the suspected malefactors.

In the autumn of the year 1171, the Emperor sent Archbishop Christian again into Italy, to pacify these feuds if possible, and again to support or re-establish the Imperial Sovereignty. Upon the present occasion, however, this thoroughly statesmanlike, if little clerical, prelate visited Italy, not at the head of an army to punish the virtual disclaimer of all Imperial authority, but as Imperial Vicar, to undertake the peaceable government of that portion of the Empire; and he began in a style well becoming his proper character of a churchman. He took his way by Genoa, where he was received with great honours, and his support against Pisa solicited, in the continuous war for the suzerainty at least of Sardinia.

Each haughty republic now freely owned the Imperial suzerainty over Italy, and flattered herself she had conciliated her sovereign by recognizing Barasone as King of the contested island. The support requested the Archbishop promised, as far as might be practicable without the use either of arms or of the ban of the Empire, which, he said, were out of the question, his mission being to restore peace, not to wage or to provoke war. After his experience of Lombard appreciation of just government, the Emperor could hardly hope thus to conciliate the League. If either he or the Archbishop did entertain such a hope, they were disappointed; for scarcely had Christian passed on to Tuscany, ere the confederates made an unsuccessful attempt, to punish Genoa by famine, for

the honours paid the Imperial Vicar. Milan forbade the sale of food to the offending Ghibeline city.

The Archbishop did not for this change his measures. In March, 1172, he held a Diet at Sienna, for the purpose of administering justice amongst the several belligerents His summons was now, as Reginald of Cologne's before, obeyed by almost all Ghibelines, of course, and by a few Guelphs; at least by some members of the Lombard League, adherents of Alexander. But Pisa, usually so loyal, refused to plead against Genoa before the Diet, alleging that how much soever the presiding prelate might intend to be impartial, he was too much prepossessed in favour of her antagonist to judge between them fairly. In this refusal she obstinately persisted; the Diet commanded the hostile cities to make peace upon certain terms; again Pisa refused; and now the Archbishop, notwithstanding his previous protestations, laid the refractory city under the ban of the Empire, a sentence always to be enforced by arms. But to this extremity it came not. Pisa, if distrustful of the Imperial Vicar, and still more of the Diet, meant not to brave the Emperor; and now made peace with Genoa, upon the previously rejected terms prescribed by the Diet.

But again Archbishop Christian, like Archbishop Reginald, found it impossible to pacify Italy by governing with the perfect impartiality befitting an Imperial vicegerent. Again, the administration of equal justice alienated the Ghibelines, without conciliating the Guelphs. Divided as Italy was into factions, and subdivided by feuds within those factions—whilst still courted by the Constantinopolitan Emperor, who, intent upon his own views and indifferent to republican impertinence, lavished money and promises for the promotion of those views—nothing could unite the discordant members, save hatred of the Head claiming their obedience. And, on the other hand, the Italian Ghibelines still wanted a Ghibeline Emperor, under whom they might trample upon prostrate Guelphs. Christian, erelong, deemed it necessary to adapt his conduct in some degree to their expectations. He now favoured the Ghibelines; held the Guelphs, as far as might be, in check, by obtaining hostages from them; and resolved to besiege

Ancona, as the focus of Greek intrigue. In this last measure Venice concurred, and renouncing the Lombard League—as the political interest of the moment dictated—offered her hearty co-operation.

The present motive impulse of this truly independent, this already puissant republic, was resentment against the Court of Constantinople. After years of intimate intercourse, during which Venice had nearly monopolized the commerce of the Empire, she had offended the Greek Emperor—who claimed her gratitude for the advantages she had enjoyed in his dominions—by trading with the Sicilian and Apulian Normans, whom, as usurpers of his provinces, he abhorred, and feared as enemies. As Venice would not restrict her mercantile transactions to please one of her customers, alternations of wrangling and amity, of war and peace, ensued, in the course of which the maritime city had wrested Ragusa on the Adriatic and Scio in the Archipelago from the Eastern Empire. The end of the whole was Manuel's suddenly imprisoning all the Venetians at Constantinople, and confiscating their ships and other property. Remonstrance proving of no avail to obtain redress, the Doge Ziani entered into alliance against Manuel, first with the Regent of Sicily, and now with the Archbishop of Mainz.

In the spring of 1174, the prelate, at the head of an army composed of the survivors of those Germans who had remained sick in Italy after the last expedition, of loyal Italians, and of mercenary bands, marched for Ancona, and besieged it by land, whilst by sea a Venetian fleet took up a blockading position. The citizens defended themselves as vigorously as they were attacked: but, strange to say, the most especial feats of valour recorded are ascribed to what was naturally the most unwarlike portion of the inhabitants. For instance, during one of the besiegers' joint attempts, by land and by water, to storm the place, a priest named Giovanni sprang into the sea, swam —a very target for his enemies—to their Admiral's ship, and cut her cables; thus both interrupting her hostile efforts, and causing her to drift into such dangerously shallow water, that the terrified crew lightened her, by flinging her cargo of military apparatus overboard.

Again, by land, a widow named Samura or Stamura,[65] one night arming herself with a sword and a torch, sallied forth from the town alone, crept undiscovered to the battering train of the besiegers, and set the engines on fire.

This stout resistance determined Christian to convert the siege into a blockade. From the numbers who had crowded into the town for protection, symptoms of scarcity soon appeared there, and the Magistrates made overtures for a negotiation. They hoped to persuade the Archbishop, by appealing both to his clemency and to his reputed love of money, to raise the siege upon some kind of convention. It is by no means clear, by the way, that such a stain really did rest on the prelate's character, that his reputed love of money was anything more than a strong sense of its indispensableness to the execution of the Emperor's designs. Be this as it may, the negotiation was conducted in a style somewhat different from that of modern diplomacy. To the offers of the Ancona deputation, Archbishop Christian answered: "Once upon a time a lioness, chased by hunters, both dogs and men, into an extensive forest, turning upon her pursuers wrought them great damage, killing many. At length they blocked her up in a cave, and she, reduced by hunger to extreme weakness, offered them, as the price of her liberty, the claws of one foot. Should you have advised the hunters to accept the offer?" The principal Envoy rejoined, "We should have so advised, my Lord Archbishop, provided she would have added the tip of her ear; for he that can obtain a grasp of both extremities will easily master the whole body. But permit us further to reply to you with another apologue. A fowler could once have ensnared seven pigeons that had flown into his well-arranged toils: but many birds were singing upon the neighbouring trees, and he forbore to secure his prey till those also should be underneath them: presently some hawks flew over the spot, scaring away not only the birds upon the trees, but the pigeons upon the ground likewise; and the fowler went home empty-handed."

This allegorical negotiation came to nothing. The Archbishop insisted upon the town's surrendering at discretion; and this the men of Ancona, encouraged by

Greek promises of succours, resolved at least to defer till the last moment, seeking aid meanwhile everywhere. That last moment seemed fast approaching in the shape of scarcity, when three of the principal citizens offered to go in quest of help. Furnished with money and full powers they were despatched in quest of allies; and embarking one tempestuously dark night, in a small boat, they slipped unnoticed through the Venetian fleet, and made for Ferrara, where they landed. Here they applied to Guglielmo degli Adelardi de' Marcheselli, a noble and influential Ferrarese, for relief to Ancona, in one form or another; and having received his promise to raise troops for this purpose, they proceeded into Romagna to the powerful Countess Aldonda di Bertinoro, with a similar request. She, by birth a Frangipani, was quite as willing as Adelardi to check the progress of the Imperial arms; and both separately set forward at the head of their forces, to raise the siege, if possible, and at least to introduce provisions into the place. Upon his way Adelardo, at the junction of two roads, encountered a relation of his own, named Traversario, leading a body of troops considerably more numerous than his own, to join the Imperialists. Adelardo, seeing that he had no chance of victory by arms, had recourse to stratagem. Observing to Traversario that kinsmen, even if they chanced to take opposite sides, should be loth to injure each other, he proposed to negotiate, when it was finally agreed to disband both corps, leaving Ancona and the Archbishop to themselves. Traversario honestly performed his part of the compact and was presently left alone. Adelardo likewise dismissed his men, but at the same time craftily remarked to them that they had sworn to relieve Ancona, and as he was no Pope to dispense with an oath, it was for them to consider whether they were or were not bound to proceed with the enterprise to which they had pledged themselves. His brother, loudly declaring that the duty of keeping an oath could not be matter even of question, took his place; the whole band adopted this opinion, and the path being open by the dispersion of the obstructing body of Ghibelines, he led them to the appointed rendezvous with the

Countess. The united bands proceeded to effect their purpose.

At Ancona meanwhile, scarcity had become famine, and even the most disgusting substitutes for wholesome food were exhausted. Mothers, whose milk inanition had dried up, are said to have opened their veins to nourish their children with their blood: whilst one gave the nutriment provided by nature for her moaning babe, to a fainting warrior, to enable him to defend the town. A large body of women presented themselves to the magistracy, with the proposal that they themselves should be killed, and the citizens, by feeding upon their flesh, prolong their more valuable lives, and recover strength to fight for their native city; or if such anthropophagism were too repugnant to their feelings as Christians, that they, the women, should be thrown into the sea, in order, at least, to save for the fighting men the portion of loathsome aliment which, if alive, they must consume. Neither offer was accepted; but that the idea could occur, shows both the spirit in which this really civil war was fought, and the extremity to which Ancona was reduced before her friends appeared. At length the signal fires of those friends were descried, and hope revived in the starving town. But the combined vassalage of Marcheselli and Bertinaro was inadequate to attempt relief by force; and again was recourse had to stratagem, but this time to one of more lawful nature. By kindling numerous fires at night over a wide circuit, they completely deceived the Archbishop as to their numbers, and awakened apprehensions of an attack, in order to repulse which, his troops must be concentrated. He did thus concentrate them upon the side that seemed threatened, and an abundant supply of provisions was immediately thrown into Ancona from the other side. The prospect of an early surrender from famine was thus indefinitely postponed, whilst the advancing autumn—the month of October was in progress—showed that the position taken up by the Venetian fleet could not long remain tenable. Christian, baffled and mortified, was obliged to confess that the Ancona apologue was appropriate. He found himself under the

necessity of raising the siege just when circumstances rendered such a disappointment most galling. He had hoped to greet the Emperor's fifth appearance in Italy with the keys of this important city; and instead of triumph, that appearance was met by the painful news of his retreat from before Ancona.

Whilst the warlike prelate was anticipating success, the Marquess of Montferrat had, with Pavia—ever loyal at heart, even when by coercion a member of the Lombard League—been urging the Emperor to return, and reduce that rebellious League to obedience. He needed not much pressing to undertake the task which he esteemed his bounden duty; for which he had been organizing an armament nearly ever since he had sent Christian to Italy. His preparations for this task had begun in the Diet held at Worms in 1172. From this Worms Diet the mighty vassal and kinsman upon whom he was wont most to rely, was indeed missing. The Duke of Saxony and Bavaria had selected this time, when the Emperor so much needed his support, and when he himself was hoping for an heir from his young and royal Duchess, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem at the head of 1200 knights and men-at-arms. But in his absence Frederic, by revealing to the German Princes the intrigues of Manuel with Alexander and with the Lombards, for robbing the German Emperors of the Imperial crown, had roused them to indignation. They at once decreed a new expedition to Italy, but required two years to make the requisite previous arrangements; within which delay they moreover reckoned upon the return of the Lion from Palestine. Nor in this were they disappointed, though much so in the expectations they built upon it. The Duke of Saxony and Bavaria came home, and had much intercourse with the Emperor at Augsburg, and at several Diets held, for his convenience seemingly, in Saxony. But he refused to join in the expedition to Italy, alleging that after his tedious pilgrimage his presence in his own duchies was indispensable. Nor was it singly he deserted the Emperor, as might be expected from the reason alleged for his absence: not a Saxon, not a Bavarian swelled the Imperial ranks. It can hardly be doubted

that by this time Henry the Lion did meditate a kingdom of northern Germany; and was unwilling to weaken, in his Imperial kinsman's Italian wars, the force that should enable him to accomplish the scheme; so was he to relieve Frederic by a loan of troops, from the embarrassments which must hamper him in his opposition to such a project, when it should become manifest.

At the head of an army, far less numerous, therefore, than he had hoped, the Emperor began his march in September 1174. Passing through Burgundy, he crossed Mount Cenis, in order to appear in strength there, where he had been seen a fugitive, and chastise the town in which, not only had his authority been insolently defied, but his life traitorously threatened. The inhabitants, shrinking from the resentment they had provoked, fled. Susa was evacuated, taken, and, according to Frederic's custom, burnt, apparently without opposition on the part of the Earl of Savoy, who professed great loyalty, and was in nowise implicated in the crime of the Susans. Frederic next marched to besiege Asti, which he likewise mastered, after a short resistance. The Marquess of Montferrat hastened to join him; Pavia joyfully sent him her contingent; Turin, and some other Ghibeline cities, eagerly threw off the yoke of the League; and about the end of October the triumphant Emperor, seemingly well able to dispense with the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria's forces, prepared to besiege the new-built Alessandria. Here his prosperous career first met with a check.

To undertake a siege at this late season was an act of imprudence into which Frederic was probably betrayed by the idea that the unfinished state of the new town's fortifications must render its capture easy. He forgot that this recently founded city was as yet a sort of outwork, or military colony, in which none but the boldest spirits, the most enthusiastically rebellious, would domiciliate themselves. The Alessandrians made a resolute defence, as was to be expected from such a population; and the siege lingered through the winter, causing more suffering to the besiegers than to the besieged. But whatever the evils of the winter siege, the Emperor's position was still favourable. His army was still strong and well

appointed. Archbishop Christian, though foiled before Ancona, maintained the upper hand in Central Italy, and a change favourable to the Imperial interests had taken place at Rome. Alexander was no longer there. He had, in 1172, when Christian was in Germany, purchased re-admission into his metropolis and the expulsion of Calixtus at a price disgraceful to the holy office he claimed. The Romans, joyously as they had received Pascal and hailed the election of Calixtus, were by that time weary of the dominion even of an anti-pope. They now demanded, as the price of their acknowledging and receiving Alexander, the Papal sanction to such a dismantling of Tusculum, as should render its future resistance to Roman tyranny impossible. This Alexander, it is to be hoped unwillingly, gave, and was thereupon installed in the Lateran, but gained little beyond this installation by thus befouling the title of Holy Father. Two years had not elapsed ere the Romans were as impatient of his authority as they had previously been of his rival's, and he was now again expelled by his turbulent flock. These circumstances appear to have so far depressed the hopes and spirits of the Lombard League that, when, in the spring of 1175, they were called upon by Alessandria to raise troops for her relief, although the Congress of Rectors complied with the requisition, the Milanese, through some influential noblemen, made overtures to Frederic. He met them frankly; professing willingness to accept, as far as might be without prejudice to the Imperial rights, the arbitration of honourable men.

Whether these overtures were honestly meant, or only a device to gain time, Lombard troops were assembled, during the negotiation that ensued, and in Passion week were known to be approaching Alessandria. And now occurs the first and only charge of actual breach of faith which even Guelph historians have ever ventured to bring against Frederic Barbarossa, and which Ghibelines positively deny. The facts upon which both parties agree are these: the besiegers proposed to enter the city at night through a mine, carried, by the Thursday of Passion week, far enough within the walls to offer hopes of surprising the greater part of the garrison, *i. e.*, the inhabitants, in bed

and asleep. The Imperialists passed through and opened it; but the wary Alessandrians were not all asleep; a part kept watch, and, underground work being heard, they had assembled near the mouth of the mine. They cut down the first Imperialist who appeared, drove back the rest, blocked up the mine, and in a sudden furious sally set the battering machinery on fire. The disputed addition to these facts by some of the fiercer Guelphs and the modern Anti-Imperialists, is that the Emperor had made a truce, professedly in order to allow the solemn observance of Good Friday and Easter Sunday, during which truce this attempt was perfidiously made:(66) less partial writers, including some Guelphs, make no mention of any truce,(67) and Ghibelines denied its existence as soon as it was asserted;(68) whilst professedly impartial modern historians aver, that, although he had made no truce, he relied upon diminished vigilance during days that ought to be kept holy.(69) The watchfulness of the besieged certainly does not look like the careless repose, to which a state of truce, after long exertion and want of sleep, would invite.

The failure of his mine and the destruction of his engines apparently determined Frederic, upon the plea of the actual state of the negotiation, to abandon this unfortunate enterprise. Upon Easter Sunday, April 14, he raised the siege of Alessandria; and the next day signed a convention with the Lombards, by which a truce was made in order to allow of arbitration: to this end it was likewise settled, that, during the truce, each party should name three arbitrators, to whom, in case of the six proving unable to agree, the Consuls of Cremona should be joined as umpires. Further, as if taking it for granted that the truce must produce a peace, this convention ordered both armies to be disbanded.

Amongst the names of the Rectors of the League signing this convention, are those of two powerful Lombard nobles, whose descendants will often be mentioned; they are Anselmo di Doaro, and Ezzelino da Romano, called by some writers the first, by others the second, and even third(70) of his name, and more specifically distinguished as the Stammerer. The founder of the Italian family had, as a simple knight, with a single horse, attended the

Emperor Conrad II into Italy, where he so signalized himself, that the Emperor rewarded his services with the fiefs of Romano and Onaro in the Trevisan March. The situation of these fiefs, upon the roots of the Alps, had enabled his descendants not only to preserve some degree of knightly independence, but even to inthrall some of their weaker neighbours; not, however, to exempt themselves from enrolment amongst the citizens of Vicenza. Thus, with, it is believed, still Ghibeline propensities, Ezzelino the Stammerer, who had acquired a brilliant reputation under Conrad III, in the second Crusade, became a Rector of the Lombard League.

To return to the convention. The Arbitrators were immediately named and the armies disbanded; the Lombards betaking themselves to their near homes, whence a day or two could recall them; the German vassals returning to distant Germany. Pending the arbitration, the Emperor fixed his quarters with his family at his favourite Italian residence, Pavia. Thither, to enhance the hopefulness of the moment, came, at his invitation, Legates from Alexander to treat concerning the closing of the schism; and thither, where it was trusted that all the feuds distracting Italy were to be adjusted, came likewise embassadors from the Regent of Sicily.

The first incident that slightly overshadowed these smiling prospects was the arrogant demeanour of the Legate, the Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia and Velletri. Received by the Emperor with due courtesy, he haughtily declared, that the Emperor's sins forbade his greeting him as Emperor. Frederic was by this time too well accustomed to the insolence of the Papal Court, to discover any sense of the insult thus offered him, and quietly directed the new Archbishop of Cologne, Philip von Heinsberg, to confer and treat with the Cardinal. The next threatening cloud arose at Cremona; where, in a sudden burst of popular frenzy, the mansions of the Consuls who had been selected as umpires, were attacked, plundered, and burnt, the Consuls themselves expelled, and others substituted in their office. These substitutes, whether or not they might have been originally accepted as umpires—and so chosen they are likely to have been factious men—

by the tenor of the convention, succeeded the deposed Consuls in that capacity, and the negotiation proceeded.

But soon was the utter hopelessness of all these diplomatic labours apparent. The Lombards insisted upon the recognition and ratification of their League with all its provisions, upon actual independence; with nominal allegiance, and some few contributions and services during both the coronation progress and any peaceful sojourn of the Emperor in Italy. Alexander demanded an unconditional admittance of the validity of his election, and submission to all his past ecclesiastical measures. The Emperor, on the other hand, required the acknowledgment of the decrees promulgated by the Roncaglia Diet, as part of the law of the Empire; and from Alexander, as the price of his sacrificing the Pope he supported, some concessions, especially the confirmation of his ecclesiastical nominations. Between such contradictory pretensions only the sword could decide. The negotiations were broken off; the Lombards quickly reassembled their army, hoping to surprise the Emperor defenceless; and he wrote urgently to Germany for reinforcements, sending the Archbishop of Cologne thither, to promote and hasten compliance with his demands.

But the period was now arrived, at which the hitherto almost as successful as heroic Frederic Barbarossa was to learn the taste and "the uses of adversity;" to feel, perhaps, the sharpest pang of which the human heart is susceptible,—disappointment in those most loved and trusted. The vassals of Cologne and of Mainz armed at their Prelate-Princes' bidding. The Archbishops of Treves and Magdeburg, the Earl of Flanders, with many Prelates and Princes of the Rhine, were roused by the dishonourable conditions Alexander and the Lombards would have imposed upon the Emperor, and prepared to march with Archbishop Philip. But, in other parts of Germany, excuses were sought and found for evading obedience to the Imperial summons:—and amongst the defaulters was he, the mightiest of the German vassal potentates, made so by the incautious friendship of his now imperilled kinsman, Liege Lord, and Emperor. The Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, Lord of Mecklenburg, refused

to lend his distressed Imperial relation the solicited aid, alleging that his advanced age—he was forty-six years old, Frederic fifty-four—unfitted him for the fatigues of a campaign; that he had changed his opinion as to the invalidity of Alexander's election, and could not oppose the Pope; that his fears of the hostile designs of his neighbours rendered his leaving home impossible. Strong surely must be the Guelph bias that can here acquit Henry the Lion of ingratitude, and impute the blame of the subsequent rupture and his spoliation to Frederic. Even writers who hardly do the Emperor justice, here condemn the Duke's heartlessness.

But Frederic, who would not suspect Henry of ingratitude, unprincipled ambition, or selfishness, imagined that difficulties, to his mind futile, must needs be the offspring of misapprehension, and yield in a personal interview between old friends and relations. Pressingly therefore he invited the Duke to a meeting either at Chiavenna, or at Partenkirch, a Bavarian town; the larger, northern, or German portion of the Tyrol then forming part of Bavaria, as did the southern of Lombardy. Henry accepted the invitation, and one of those towns — which seems doubtful—was the theatre of the extraordinary scene now to be related, as it well deserves, circumstantially; even as given by contemporary German chroniclers.

In an assembly consisting of some of the chief vassals on both sides, and at which the Empress was present, the monarch, after attentively listening to Henry's arguments upon the point in dispute, and refuting them, proceeded thus to address his cousin: "Thee has God exalted in riches and in power above all the Princes of Germany; to all the rest, therefore, must thou be an example; therefore through thee must the tottering Empire be re-established, as chiefly through thee I joyfully acknowledge that it has been hitherto upheld. Reflect that I have never denied thee aught, have ever promoted thy greatness and honour, have never suffered foe to stand against thee. And couldst thou now desert me? Now, when the reputation of the Emperor, the honour of Germany, the great object to the attaining of which my whole life has

been devoted, are at stake? I will not urge thine oath of allegiance, I will only remind thee how sacred are the ties of blood, which should hold fast when all others fall into dissolution. Now, only now, in this one strait, assist me with thy whole force; *me*, thy sovereign, thy kinsman, and thy friend! Only this once, and be assured thou shalt always find me ready and willing to comply with thine every wish."

Thus passionately entreated the Emperor: but the Duke, forgetful of the favours showered upon him through so many years, and devoted to his own ambitious schemes, or as some writers have asserted,(71) wrought upon by Alexander's intrigues and by Lombard gold, persisted in his refusal. Still Frederic solicited, and at length Henry offered a trifling pecuniary assistance as the price of Goslar; which strong fortress, as giving a great hold upon Saxony, had always, it will be remembered, excited his cupidity.

To this proposal Frederic, who, as Head of the Empire, was requiring from Henry the service of a vassal of the Empire, would not listen. He now saw, it may be presumed, that Henry must not be further strengthened, and would not, he said, barter and bargain with his cousin, like two traders trying to overreach one another; yet so urgent was his need, so mighty, to his mind, were the interests depending upon the result of this interview, that he judged it a duty not to omit any possible means of acting upon his selfish relation's feelings. The Emperor rose from his seat, and bending his knee before the Duke, in that posture renewed his entreaties.

Henry, startled and shocked, endeavoured to raise the kneeling Emperor, but persisted in his refusal, save upon his own terms. One of his vassals, Jordan Truchsess, *i. e.*, the Sewer, had the insolent audacity to exclaim, "My Lord, suffer the crown that shall speedily adorn your brow, to remain at your feet!" To which another of his train anxiously subjoined, "My Lord! my Lord! beware lest it crush you!" Still the Emperor knelt before his stubborn vassal, and breathless silence prevailed. But now the Empress arose, approached her kneeling consort, and with womanly tenderness softening and enhancing her womanly dignity, said, "Rise, dear my Lord, rise!

God will surely grant thee the aid thou shalt ask of him in remembrance of this day, of this heartless arrogance!" The Emperor rose at her bidding; the Duke mounted his horse and rode off with his train.(72)

This failure of his mainstay was as severe a blow to the power of the Emperor in Italy, as to his heart. He returned to Pavia, there to await the more loyal Germans; and summoned Archbishop Christian, who throughout the winter had successfully carried on a partisan war in Central Italy, to join him. In the spring of 1176, the Archbishop of Cologne set forward with those loyal Germans; and, avoiding the customary Alpine passes, which the Lombards occupied in great strength, made his way by the unguarded Grison Alps and Chiavenna, to the lake of Como. The Emperor, informed of their line of march and anxious to be at their head, collected what troops he as yet had at hand, and, without waiting for the Mainz prelate, left Pavia for Como. Carefully avoiding, with so small a force, the vicinity of Milan, he crossed the country undiscovered and happily joined his reinforcements. Como, with her wonted loyalty, furnished her contingent; but whether any other Lombard city would follow her example was doubtful; and still Frederic had but a part of his army about him. He felt the urgent need of a junction with Christian, as yet only on his march to Pavia; and broke up from Como in order to expedite so important an operation by meeting him halfway.

Meanwhile the Milanese, despite the precautions of the Germans, had learned their arrival and position; and lost no time in preparing to encounter the Emperor, before the whole of his forces should be united. They called upon the Lombard League to assemble its utmost powers. At home they formed the flower of their citizen-soldiers into two cohorts (independently of their regular contingent), respectively named the Cohort of the *Carroccio*—consisting of 300 men of the first families in Milan, who swore to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of this highly valued standard—and the Cohort of Death, 900 strong, bound by oath to die for their country rather than give way. Their Lombard Confederates, having recalled the guards of the Alps, quickly joined them, in

numbers far superior to the division of the Imperialists as yet with Frederic; and eagerly they marched forth in search of him to whom as yet they scarcely disowned allegiance. They encamped at Legnano.

Upon the 29th of May, the Emperor, informed of the position and numbers of the rebels, deliberated in a council of war, whether to attack them, notwithstanding their numerical advantage, or to avoid a battle until joined by the Archbishop of Mainz. All opinions concurred in preferring the latter course, to which Frederic advanced no other objection than that it was contrary to his honour. But whilst they were still discussing the question, a casual affray between the scouts of the respective armies superseded all deliberation, by giving rise to an unpremeditated general action. In this battle occurred one of those perplexing revulsions of fortune, so frequent in military history, viz., a seeming victory abruptly transformed into a defeat. Frederic, when called into the field with the whole of his small army to support his scouts, who, worsted by double their number of Lombards, were flying in disorder, was immediately confronted by the whole Lombard army. He directed his efforts chiefly to seizing the Milanese Carroccio; succeeded in dispersing or slaying the Cohort devoted to its protection, and thus obtained possession of this far-famed standard, now the recognized standard of the Lombard League. At the same time one division of his forces routed the division opposed to it, pursuing the fugitives with inconsiderate ardour. He thought the day his own, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers. But the Cohort of Death had not yet engaged. Headed by their colossal leader, Alberto Giussano, they now with resistless impetuosity charged the Imperialist captors of the Carroccio. The Imperialist standard-bearer was slain, and as he sank to the earth, his standard for the moment disappeared from the field, just as the Emperor, his horse being killed under him, was involved in the fall of the animal. When the hero, general, and sovereign, thus simultaneously with his standard, vanished from the eyes of the combatants, the alarm and bewilderment were universal. A rumour of Frederic's death

spread like wildfire; despondency chilled every heart, and resistance was no more. Before the Emperor could be thoroughly disengaged from the dead charger, and remounted on a fresh steed, to show himself to the dispirited army, dispersion and flight had, despite the strenuous exertions of his leaders, become general and irremediable. The proud hopes of the Lombards were justified; the day was theirs. The first use the victors made of their victory, was to massacre, with unrelenting fury, all who remained alive and within their reach of the Comascan contingent; for the Lombards were barbarous beyond most of their contemporaries in their treatment of prisoners of war: partly it has been supposed from the anti-chivalrousness of the commercial and democratic spirit; but more it may be conjectured from their enemies being for the most part their neighbours, and the bitterness already noticed as characterizing such neighbourly hatred.

Frederic had not reappeared after his fall with his dead horse; having discovered, before he could do so, that all was lost, all further struggle to avert defeat impossible, and his own safety, for the moment, the primary consideration. For this he provided by carefully avoiding observation, and leaving the scene of disaster in a direction different from that taken by his flying army. Hence proceeded a report of his death, which was everywhere received as true; and now the exultation at Milan was indeed unbounded. So was the grief at Pavia, and at Como, where the Empress, who had been there left, put on widow's weeds. The former feeling produced two effects, both favourable to Frederic; to wit, an enhancement of Milanese arrogance that offended the other members of the League, and a sense of security that at once dispersed the confederate army. The theatres of rejoicing and mourning were suddenly exchanged. Frederic, having eluded the insurgents by a circuitous course along bye-paths, in a few days made his appearance at Pavia, and all calamities were forgotten in the joy of his survival.

But the raptures of his wife, his court, and his camp, could not blind the Emperor to the real posture of his affairs, and he was convinced that this defeat was fatal to his hopes of enthroning his own Pope in Alexander's stead.

This was the seventh German army lost in Italy; and he well knew that the superstition of the survivors, who had fled homeward, would again ascribe their misfortunes to their support of an anti-pope against the true successor of the Apostle, disseminating these ideas throughout Germany. He knew too, by painful experience, that from him, who could best help, no help was to be expected; and might now perhaps feel some misgivings as to his long-trusted kinsman's proceedings in Germany. It has been alleged that he now repented of his own opposition to Alexander.(73) That he should deem criminal, and, therefore, repent of a line of conduct adopted under the sanction of a Council, and of more than one, of two if not three Councils, is very unlikely; but he may have been conscious that, since Victor's death, his popes were to the full as illegally elected as Alexander; and that if Alexander was still in the wrong, *he* was no longer in the right. Some such apprehension seems indeed to have suggested his proposal of a joint resignation in 1167. But, however influenced, he now resolved to achieve at all costs a reconciliation with the generally acknowledged, if illegal, Pope.

To this end the Emperor despatched the Archbishops of Mainz and Magdeburg, with the Bishop of Bamberg, to Anagni, where the Papal Court then resided, bearing such overtures as might, he hoped, separate the Pontiff from the Lombards. But Alexander was too good a politician to be tempted, by the chance of any apparent individual and, perhaps, momentary advantage, thus to strengthen his adversary. He declared, that he neither could nor would treat otherwise than conjointly with his allies, the Lombards, the King of Sicily, and the Greek Emperor.

For the theatre of this general negotiation, Venice was, after much mistrustful wrangling, selected. Alexander, cautious as usual, after he had obtained from the Doge, and twelve Venetian nobles, an oath not to admit the Emperor into the city without his express permission, repaired in Sicilian vessels, and accompanied by Sicilian embassadors, to that seat of maritime power. There Lombard and Imperial deputies met him, and, with the exception of a Constantinopolitan representative, all parties were assembled; but, upon Manuel's concurrence the Pope

seems no longer to have insisted, and negotiations began. The Emperor, annoyed by the delays resulting from his remote position, presently took up his abode at Chiozza, and the proceedings were expedited. But still no one receded from the irreconcilable pretensions that had hitherto prevented the conclusion of a treaty; the negotiation proved difficult, and for awhile little prospect of peace appeared. Gradually, however, circumstances occurred to soften the obstinacy of some of the belligerents, by alarming them. Discord broke out in the Lombard League; and the naturally Ghibeline towns sought to detach themselves from it. Cremona set the example; and the Emperor rewarded her repentance, by granting the citizens the privilege of electing their own Consuls. Even the Guelph towns, Tortona and Ravenna, upon this condition, declared for the Emperor. The Venetians were shocked at seeing the mighty potentate, whom they occasionally acknowledged their liege lord, and just then found it for their convenience so to do, banished to a sort of suburban fishing village; and Alexander, alarmed at their evident uneasiness, hourly dreaded to hear that they had installed his enemy in the ducal palace.

The enemies of the Emperor thus becoming as impatient to conclude the war, as he had long been, it was suggested that the seemingly insuperable difficulties might be evaded by a long truce between the Emperor and the League, reserving the questions in dispute for future discussion and decision. The Lombards, fearing new desertions, were glad thus to elude the obstacles to accommodation, and Frederic, after repeatedly rejecting such half measures, at length assented.(74) And now, although the conditions upon which he was to acknowledge Alexander were not yet finally arranged, the Pope gave the desired permission for the Emperor's presence in Venice. No sooner had the Doge obtained it, than he despatched the state barges to Chiozza; and, upon the 24th of June, they brought the Emperor and his court with all fitting ceremoniousness to Venice. The Pope sent his Nuncio to meet, and relieve him from excommunication, ere he should land; preparatory to which rehabilitation, Archbishop Christian, in the Emperor's name, disowned the three Anti-Popes, the dead

as well as the living. His readmission into the bosom of the church thus completed, the Emperor was received at the landing place of the *Piazzetta di San Marco* by the Doge, attended in state by all the members of the already complicated Venetian government, and escorted in procession to the great door of St. Mark's church. There the Pope, with all the clergy then in Venice attending him, and the Sicilian embassy, awaited his imperial, penitent, pseudo-prodigal son. The Emperor paid his Holiness the usual honours paid by emperors to popes. Alexander shed tears of joy ([75]) as he gave him the kiss of peace; and together the reconciled Heads of Christendom proceeded to the high altar, where solemn thanksgivings for this reconciliation were offered to Heaven.

The manner of the meeting, as above portrayed, is consonant with the account given by the Pope himself, in an extant epistle of his;([76]) which may be admitted as satisfactorily refuting the extravagant arrogance of presumption imputed, by some writers, to the Head of the Church upon this occasion—as, *e.g.*, trampling upon the Emperor's neck; though not out of keeping with his demeanour as Papal Legate at Besançon—and the equally extravagant meanness of humiliation they impute to the Head of the Empire. Those stories have accordingly been rejected by the most anti-imperialist later Italian historians, as Romish or monkish forgeries, long subsequent to the transaction. *Part* of their tale might, nevertheless, as consonant to the temper of the parties, be accepted as probable. It seems far from unlikely that the haughty Emperor should, whilst kissing the Pope's slipper, have said, "*Non tibi sed Petro*" (as, indeed, a monarch ought to say, when paying such homage); and that the yet haughtier Pope should retort, "*Et mihi et Petro.*" But the incidents immediately ensuing render even this improbable.

After this public solemn reconciliation, the Emperor and the Pope had frequent unceremonious private interviews; and appear, duly appreciating each other's lofty character, to have become as cordial friends, as was compatible with the clashing interests of their relative position. In such intercourse, and in the discussion of the various points of the several treaties pending, passed the month of July. At

length, on the 1st of August, a full assembly was convened in the palace of the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Venetian Primate. The Pope was seated upon a raised throne, with the Emperor upon his right hand; Romualdo Archbishop of Salerno, as the representative of the King of Sicily, upon his left; whilst princes, prelates, nobles, and city deputations filled the spacious hall. The Pope formally expressed his satisfaction at the closing of the schism in the Church; the Emperor explained the grounds of his previous dissent; and then the treaty just concluded was read aloud. It was to the following effect:

The Emperor acknowledged Alexander III as rightful Pope; he renounced in his favour all royalties in the Roman territories, the nomination of the Prefect of Rome included, and he pledged himself to render him all services that preceding Emperors had rendered preceding Popes; to restore to the Church all her possessions, and make due compensation to despoiled ecclesiastics. The Pope, on his part, confirmed all the imperially appointed prelates in their respective sees, especially Christian von Buch in that of Mainz; his own Archbishop, the long expelled Conrad von Wittelsbach, getting Salzburg in its stead—Prince Adalbert, who had successively offended both parties, being temporarily sacrificed, till something should offer for him. The Anti-Pope Calixtus was to receive an abbey upon renouncing his pretensions, and all his Cardinals—who were few, the anti-popes having been singularly moderate in their creation—were to be provided for. The Emperor was to retain the Matildan domains fifteen years; all disputes were to be referred to arbitration; and a general amnesty was to be granted by both Pope and Emperor. Truces were concluded for six years between the Emperor and the Lombard League, for fifteen between him and the King of Sicily; during which periods no change of any kind in the position and relations of any of the parties, was to be attempted, unless by way of negotiation, compromise, or arbitration. To this treaty swore not only the Pope, the Emperor, or Graf Heinrich von Dessau in his name and on his soul, the Sicilian Embassador, and the Lombard Deputies, but likewise the Empress, the young King of the Romans, the Cardinals,

the Roman and other Italian Nobles, the German Princes, and the Lombard Consuls.

The Italian parties to the truce were, on the side of the Emperor, the Marquesses of Montferrat, Guasto, and Boseo; the Earls of Biandrate and Lomellino, with a few inferior Nobles; and the Cities, Pavia, Cremona, Genoa, Savona, Tortona, Turin, Asti, Alba, Acqui, Ivrea, Ventimiglia, Monvelio, Albenga, Imola, Faenza, Ravenna, Forli, Forlimpopoli, Cesena, Rimini, Castrocaro, and a few places of less note. On the side of the League, its members. Milan, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Bergamo, Brescia, Lodi, Como (which must have ratted after the disaster at Legnano), Novara, Vercelli, Alessandria, Piacenza, Parma, Mantua, Ferrara, Bobbio, Reggio, Modena, Bologna, with other towns of less note; and, its allies, Marquess Obizzo Malaspina and some inferior Nobles. Venice appears to have signed as a common friend and mediatrix.(77) In honour of this reconciliation, the Pope is said to have presented the Doge with a ring, which he employed to wed the Adriatic.(78)

Another month the reconciled enemies spent together at Venice. In September they parted. The Pope had, upon this happy riddance of his rival, been invited by the Romans to return to his proper home amongst them; and, having obtained from them an oath to restore his usurped rights and prerogatives, to allow or even compel all Senators upon their election to do homage to him, and never to invade his liberty or that of the Cardinals, he now returned to his metropolitan palace, to which he was escorted by Senate and people. The Emperor, upon quitting the Queen of the Adriatic, travelled leisurely homeward with his wife and son, visiting Tuscany and Genoa. The Imperial family was everywhere received with demonstrations of joyful respect, and from Genoa passed into the Arelat. There they remained many months, that Frederic appears to have devoted to settling the affairs of that realm. And there he is still found the 30th of July, 1178, upon which day, at Arles, he and Beatrice were crowned King and Queen of the Arelat. After this ceremony they returned through the county of Burgundy into Germany, where again serious business awaited the Emperor.

CHAPTER IX.

FREDERIC I.

Fall of Henry the Lion—Affairs of Germany—Affairs of Italy —Death of Alexander III—Lucius III—Peace of Constance —Affairs of Sicily—Marriage of the King of the Romans— Urban III. [1178—1186.

Upon the present occasion the business awaiting the Emperor was as painful as it was serious. During the war and the negotiations in Italy, the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria had as usual been at feud with his neighbours. Whether he had or had not meditated actual rebellion against his Imperial liege Lord and kinsman, is, and will probably ever remain, an unresolved question. But that, although engaged in war with some still unconquered Slavonians, he was much occupied with intrigues calculated to produce troubles in Swabia, seems tolerably certain. From both he was startled by the unexpected news of the reconciliation between the Emperor and Alexander. Upon hearing such tidings he sought the alliance and friendship of Casimir IV of Poland; an able prince, who, upon the death of his eldest brother, Boleslas IV, superseding an intermediate brother, Mieczyslaf, had just succeeded as Duke of Cracow, and as Grand-Duke over his co-Dukes. He applied likewise to Waldemar—now his near connexion by the actual marriage of the Crown-Prince Canute with Richenza, the widowed Duchess of Swabia—for aid against his various enemies, against the Emperor should need be. This last the King of Denmark would agree to afford him only if he, the Duke, first made compensation to, and peace with the prelates whose possessions he had wrongfully seized; observing, "It was always ill fighting the Emperor; and with Heaven angered, would be impossible."

But, as it was against those very prelates that the Lion wanted auxiliaries, he rejected the conditions upon which alone could this aid be hoped for, and all he could obtain from Waldemar was a promise to keep his refusal secret. Upon the strength of this secrecy, when three of the offended bishops invaded his dominions, he ventured to encourage his friends and vassals, and to alarm the prelates, with the prospect of Danish, and also of Polish succours, which last were as little forthcoming as the first.

The origin of this Saxon civil war may be briefly stated. Gero Bishop of Halberstadt, whom Henry had placed in that see, when with or without the Emperor's concurrence he had expelled the Alexandrian Bishop Ulrich, was one of the few German anti-papal prelates, not confirmed by the treaty of Venice. Alexander formally deposed him, reinstalling Ulrich, who at once cancelled all Gero's acts, including his grants of episcopal fiefs; some of those grants having been to his Ducal patron. The Lion immediately concluded a peace with the Slavonians, to turn his full force against Bishop Ulrich. Upon this fresh outbreak of civil war, other Saxon Prelates and Nobles revived their old claims and complaints, which the Emperor had rather suspended, as the punishment of their attempted self-redress, than rejected. The Bishop of Munster joined Ulrich in arms. The Archbishop of Cologne, upon his return from Italy in the autumn of 1177, demanded in addition to the immediate evacuation of his principality, compensation for inroads upon the territory, and oppression exercised upon the vassals, of his see. It was refused, and the Archbishop joined the two Bishops. These were the prelates with whom the Duke now had to contend, and they are accused by Guelphs of having marked their invasion of the duchy by sacrilege as well as by great cruelty.(79)

In this state Frederic, upon his arrival, found the affairs of the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria; and he did not immediately interfere; whilst the Duke so fully relied upon the dread he inspired, or still perhaps, even after the scene at Partenkirch or Chiavenna and its melancholy consequences, upon the Emperor's regard, that he boldly attended the first Diet, held at Spires, to complain of

aggression upon himself. He was met by counter-complaints from the invaders, from their allies, and from divers prelates and nobles whom he had in some manner wronged or injured. As a sample of these counter-complaints, that of the Bavarian Bishop of Freising, though not relating to one of the Lion's most recent outrages, may be given. It was, that the Duke had, without provocation or notice, in the midst of peace and friendship, surprised his town of Veringen by night, burnt bridges and houses, seized his great salt magazine, destroyed his salt works, made prisoners of all his salt manufacturers, and dragged them away to Munich, thus to transfer the salt trade from the episcopal to the ducal domain. A nearly similar outrage he had perpetrated years before at salt works belonging to the Earl of Holstein: but for that some sort of compensation had ultimately been made, and the Earl now acted as his faithful vassal, instead of appearing amongst his enemies. But against accusers and accusations, Henry could not now, as of yore, reckon upon a protector, kind as powerful, in the Emperor, who, if he laid no offence to his charge, certainly forbore to shield him.

From the accusations of his enemies, the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria was required to vindicate himself at the next Diet, appointed to be held at Worms, in January 1179. The Diet was so held, but the Duke did not appear. In fact, whilst his pride revolted from owning the Princes of the Empire as his peers and judges, he was conscious of having provoked the ill will of so many of them, as left him little hope of favour to temper justice. The Princes were wroth at his non-appearance; but the Emperor listened to a plea advanced on his behalf; to wit, that princes of the Empire could be judged only in their own country; and he gave him a second chance, by summoning him to the Whitsuntide Diet, convoked, conformably to this pretension, to meet at Magdeburg, in Saxony.

Again, at this Diet, Henry the Lion appeared neither in person, nor by deputy, envoy, or advocate, sent thither to plead his cause: and now the number and virulence of his accusers increased. The Margrave of Landsberg came for-

ward to charge him with having incited Slavonian tribes to ravage his Lusatian margraviate; and he offered to maintain the truth of this and the other charges in single combat. To have accepted the challenge would have been to own the Margrave his peer, and the Duke took no notice of it. But to allow of his accepting this trial by judicial combat, if so minded, the investigation of the complaints was deferred to a third Diet, convoked to meet again in Saxony, at Goslar.

During the interval between the Magdeburg Diet, and that appointed to meet at Goslar, Henry sought to profit by those old feelings of kindred and friendship that he had himself so rudely wounded. He solicited a secret interview with the Emperor, who consented, and privately met him at Haldensleben. But the Duke would make no concession. He would neither agree to pay the fine of 5000 marks demanded by the Emperor, rather in acknowledgment of his default, than as damages for the calamities that default had caused, nor submit his various quarrels to the decision of the Diet, or even to the arbitration of the Emperor. The interview had no result.

At Goslar Henry no more appeared, either in person or vicariously, than at the preceding Diets; and now the Emperor formally put the question: "What is the punishment denounced by the laws of the Empire against him, who, thrice regularly summoned by the Diet, refuses to appear, thus scorning the jurisdiction of the Estates of the Empire?" The original question here, as on former occasions, merging, as it were, in this contumacy, which was held to imply a greater crime—*i.e.*, revolt against the authority of the Emperor and the Diet. The answer was prompt and decided. "The ban of the Empire!"—*Anglicè*, "outlawry, forfeiture of fiefs, loss of dignities." The Duke's partisans in the Diet protested against this sentence, and urged that Henry, being of Swabian descent, could only in Swabia be judged; a sort of corollary from the former admitted plea. The Diet rejected it, nevertheless, as an absurd innovation; and one of the members offered to prove again, in single combat, that the Emperor and Diet of the Empire conjointly, could try, and, if convicted, condemn any prince, at any place within the realm. As before, no

notice was taken of the challenge. But still the Emperor delayed to ratify the sentence of the Diet. Bent upon giving his refractory kinsman every possible chance of returning to his duty as a vassal of the Empire, he resisted the importunity of the Lion's enemies, and summoned him for the fourth time to appear, in person or by proxy, before an Imperial Diet, now to sit at Würzburg in Franconia, in January 1180, and there vindicate his conduct. Diets were likewise convoked to meet at Ulm, and at Ratisbon, but respecting these Diets some obscurity exists. Whether they were convoked simultaneously with, or, as is more likely, subsequent to the assembling of the Würzburg Diet, whether they were Imperial Diets, there held either to comply with every imaginable claim of the Duke's, or in order to dispose of fiefs within the states to which those fiefs appertained, or were merely Provincial Diets of Bavaria and Swabia, as forms indispensable to the contemplated changes, appears to be altogether uncertain, and luckily is not very material.

The enemies, with whom the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria had surrounded himself, waited not for the further proceedings of these later Diets. The chief of these enemies, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Archbishops of Cologne and Magdeburg, and the Bishop of Halberstadt, impatient of the Emperor's delays, and mistrustful of some lingering cousinly regard, now took the execution of the Diet's unratified sentence into their own hands. Upon the rising of the Goslar assembly, they invaded Saxony in concert, and were joined by offended Saxon vassals; when again the invaders are said, especially the troops of Archbishop Philip, to have wrought unspeakably atrocious and sacrilegious destruction in the duchy ([80]) : an accusation too often repeated by the partisans of Henry the Lion, to be fully credited, at least as meaning anything beyond what was then unhappily usual. But all the princes together were no match for the Lion, so truly formidable had he made himself. They were unsupported by the force of the Empire, and he speedily cleared his dominions of them.

The fourth summons, the Duke, elated by his triumph over those whom he was entitled to regard as the Diet's

officers, slighted, as he had the three preceding. The Pope and the Kings of England and France now interposed in his behalf; but in vain. The patience of the Emperor was exhausted, and he gave way to the indignant Princes; at another Würzburg Diet, the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria was formally laid under the ban of the Empire. But the laws of the Empire allowed the prince under its ban a period of grace, during which he might by submission, if not quite avert, yet greatly alleviate the confiscation that sentence imported. But the period of grace elapsed, and still Henry stood in haughty defiance of the Emperor and the Empire. His forfeiture was now complete; such contumacious resistance to the sentence, as should render arms requisite for its inforcement, adding, *ipso facto*, the forfeiture of *allodia* to that of fiefs.

At the Easter Diet, held this year at Gelnhausen, a favourite residence of Frederic's, this final forfeiture was pronounced, and the possessions lost by the Lion were ordered to be assigned anew. But the Emperor, much as Guelphs execrate his malignant enmity to the head of the Welfs, forbore to execute the sentence in its full severity; and still, whilst he disposed of the forfeited duchies and fiefs, left the princely outlaw a chance of redeeming his allodial property. Taught by bitter experience the danger of making any prince formidably powerful, the monarch, with the concurrence of the Diet, not only severed, but diminished the two duchies, ere granting them anew. The fiefs situated within the province of Cologne, that is to say the Westphalian fiefs, he granted, with ducal rights over Westphalia, to Archbishop Philip, to be permanently attached to that archiepiscopal see. The Landgrave of Thuringia, the Archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen—the defaulter, Hartwig, was dead, and his successor, Baldwin, of course, entitled to all temporalities—the Bishops of Minden, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Verden, Paderborn, with other prelates and nobles of less note, severally recovered whatever had been wrested from them, with additions. The Dukes of Mecklenburg—the now really Christian sons and heirs of the Heathen Obodrite Princes—and the Earls of Holstein, were raised to the rank of immediate vassals of the Empire;

Lubeck, and a few other thriving towns, to that of Free Imperial cities. The duchy of Saxony, thus curtailed, but retaining some of its Slavonian acquisitions, and still powerful, the Emperor assigned to the descendants of the eldest of the Billung co-heiresses, Elike. Her son, Albert the Bear, had died in 1170, dividing his dominions between his sons,—unluckily for German nationality, a then growing practice;—he left his margraviate to his eldest son Otho; Anhalt, with his Slavonian conquests upon the middle Elbe, to the younger, Bernard. To have re-united the margraviate and the duchy would have been to reconstruct such a power as had just been found noxious: and the Emperor, therefore, so far modified the law of hereditary right, as to invest Bernard with the duchy of Saxony, attaching to it the Imperial household office of Arch-Marshal; that of Arch-Chamberlain being already assigned to the Margraves of Brandenburg, now the more powerful princes of the two [81].

The affairs of Saxony thus ordered at Gelnhausen in Thuringia—still part of Saxony, though the Landgrave seems a very great prince to be under a duke—the Emperor proceeded to hold a Diet at Ratisbon, probably that already mentioned, for the regulation of those of Bavaria; and this already curtailed duchy he in like manner further diminished. To Carinthia and Styria, independence of the Dukes of Bavaria was severally assured, with ducal rights and title to the vassal prince of each. He granted some southern Tyrolese counties to the Bishops in whose dioceses they lay, to prevent their absorption by Lombardy; and others, more considerable, to the Earls of Andechs, descended, like the house of Wittelsbach, from the Scyren, or Schyren; and, upon this augmentation of their already extensive, though most inconveniently scattered, dominions, he authorized the Earl's retention of their unauthorizedly assumed title of Duke—an assumption requiring some words of explanation. An Earl of Dachau, taking part in a civil war in Hungary, had, as the reward of his assistance, been created Duke of Dalmatia by Boris, the pretender he had served. But Boris proving unsuccessful, the Earl lost Dalmatia; and, returning to Germany, a Hungarian Duke without a dukedom, his new

title was not recognized by the German Diet. Upon the death of the last of these Dachau Dukes, leaving neither child nor brother, the son of his sister,—who had married an Earl of Andechs,—succeeded to his county and empty ducal title, which, in this series of changes, was now sanctioned by the Emperor and Diet. The Earls henceforward lawfully entitled themselves Dukes of Meran; having still, it might almost be said, only a dukedom *in partibus*, since it has never been clearly ascertained where Meran is, or, rather, of what Meran they were dukes.(82) To return to Frederic's operations in the Ratisbon Diet. He added a few fiefs to those of the Duke of Spoleto, with which (whether here or at Ulm seems doubtful) he incorporated all those remaining to the Lion in Swabia; he made Ratisbon, and a few other towns (in Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia), immediate, or Free Imperial cities; he then invested his tried friend and champion, Otho von Wittelsbach, with the duchy. Is it worth mentioning that this Otho is a lineal ancestor of the Elector Palatine, husband to Elizabeth of England, and thus an ancestor of the present sovereign of the British Empire? The Bavarians exultingly hailed the representative of one of their oldest families, the Scyren, as their Duke; and Otho, upon acquiring the higher dignity, transferred his Bavarian palatinate to his younger brother. Finally, the burgraviate of Nuremberg was given to the Earls of Zollern, or Hohenzollern, and if not from the first hereditary, was soon afterwards made so. The army of the Empire, destined to effect all these transfers and changes, was appointed to assemble upon St. James's day, in the ensuing month of July; the princes and nobles who were to profit by them of course supplying a large proportion of the force.

But the Lion had not waited to be attacked. Upon receiving information of the sentence pronounced against him, and the allotment of Saxony, which he did soon after his repulse of his first invaders, he resumed hostilities. He surprised and burnt Halberstadt, numbered the Bishop amongst his prisoners, and constrained him to sign a treaty, which was afterwards cancelled by both Pope and Emperor. He took and burnt Nordhausen, defeated the

newly invested Duke of Saxony, captured the Landgrave of Thuringia, and laid siege to that object of his ambition, Goslar, after destroying all the mining and smelting establishments located under its protection. During these operations, his faithful vassal, Adolph Graf von Holstein, was gallantly and successfully doing battle with the invaders, and driving them out of the western provinces of the duchy. Not a single advantage had those enemies gained; and Henry, though he left Goslar untaken, returned to Brunswick, his favourite residence, crowned with success and glory. But, in the exultation of triumph, the Duke forgot that his whole strength lay in the fidelity of his vassals. He quarrelled with the greatest of them, the Earl of Holstein,—who had nearly exhausted his own resources in his zealous service of his liege Lord,—respecting some prisoners of war taken by the Earl, but whom, or whose ransom, the Duke, as his suzerain, claimed, and the Earl refused to surrender ([83]). He next accused the Graf von Ratzeburg of plotting the assassination of himself and his Duchess. Once more, however, his great abilities and leonine daring gave success to his irrational presumption; he expelled Earl Adolf from Holstein, threw the Earl of Ratzeburg into prison, and triumphed in the possession of the fiefs of both.

Thus, throughout the year 1180, Henry was victorious; but it was for the last time. During the period in which he had thus prosperously maintained his position against his brother princes, and increased his power by seizing the possessions of his vassals, the Emperor, occupied by the settlement of Bavaria, had, in Saxony, left the execution of the Diet's decree to those who were to reap the benefit, but who proved unable to cope with the Lion. In the course of the following year, 1181, he took it in hand himself, and the scene changed. He fixed a day, Martinmas, upon or before which all Saxon vassals must submit to the decree of the Diet, or be declared traitors, and forfeit their fiefs. At the head of an army of the Empire, unaccompanied by any troops of his own, he then entered the duchy. And now, whether influenced by respect for the Head of the Empire enforcing the known will of the Empire, or by anger at the deposed Duke's treatment of

the Earls of Holstein and Ratzeburg, Henry's hitherto staunchest adherents, with scarcely an exception, fell off from him. His strongest towns and castles surrendered almost as soon as summoned; Ratzeburg was, upon Henry's leaving it, recovered by the friends of the imprisoned Earl in his name; the Imperialists took Bardewyck and Haldensleben by storm, and besieged Brunswick. The young Duchess, Matilda of England, was in the town, still confined to her bed by the sufferings entailed upon maternity, and she sent a request to the Emperor, that wine, for her use, might be permitted to enter. He not only granted the request, but added to his permission a complimentary message, that, rather than disturb a lady in her critical condition, he would make her a present of Brunswick. And he instantly raised the siege.

Frederic's chivalrous courtesy did not further interrupt his victorious career. The only power from which, as an ally of Henry's, he apprehended serious opposition was Denmark; Waldemar having faithfully kept his promise not to make his purposed neutrality public. To conciliate this connexion of the Lion's, the Emperor now proposed a marriage between two of his own sons and two of the Danish monarch's daughters. The proposal was thankfully accepted; Waldemar visited the Emperor in his camp, and all fear of his interposition in aid of his ducal neighbour and connexion thus vanishing, Frederic proceeded confidently. With the King's consent he invested the Pomeranian Princes—who since the year 1168 had been Danish vassals—with their dominions, as Princes of the Empire; though still it should seem, owing homage to the King of Denmark, as their mesne Lord. He next laid siege to Lubeck. The citizens, through their Bishop, represented to the Emperor that their city owed its prosperity, if not its existence, to the deposed Duke of Saxony, who had annihilated Heathenism and established Christianity throughout the neighbouring districts; and that they were bound, by gratitude for such benefits, to defend the city for him to the uttermost, unless authorized by him to surrender; wherefore they solicited permission to communicate with him. The Emperor replied that the

deposed Duke had held Lubeck as a fief of the Empire; and all his fiefs having, by his Co-Estates of the Empire, been confiscated, as the penalty of his contumacy and rebellion, it was wrong in the citizens of Lubeck to resist the Imperial authority; nevertheless he granted their petition. The deputation, sent to Henry, brought back leave from him to make terms for themselves, as he had not the means of rescuing them. Lubeck thereupon surrendered, and became a Free Imperial city, with all its chartered rights and commercial privileges confirmed and augmented.

Henry had retreated to Stade, a strongly fortified town, where he prepared for a desperate resistance. But Frederic marched upon Lüneberg, where the Duke's family then was; and the double fear of seeing his children in his enemies' hands, and of losing the very cradle of his maternal Saxon ancestry, conquered his stubborn resolution. He released the captive Landgrave of Thuringia, requesting him to announce his submission to the sentence of the Diet, and prepare the offended Emperor to receive him. Frederic, who apparently needed little preparation, at the first word sent the repentant rebel a safe-conduct. Protected by this Imperial document, the haughty Lion traversed dominions so lately his own; and, in November, presented himself before the Diet, then sitting at Erfurt. He fell at the feet of the sovereign, whom at Partenkirch he had seen at his own, clasped his knees, and sued for pardon.

Frederic was inly moved, and tears bedewed his cheeks, as he exclaimed: "But thou thyself hast been the sole author of thy misfortunes!" All who bore the Lion ill will for past wrongs, and all who dreaded his ambition or his vengeance, trembled lest this deep emotion should forbode a full pardon. But Frederic neither would nor perhaps could, materially alter the sentence of the Diet; nor would he, now that affection no longer hoodwinked his judgment, sacrifice the interests of the Empire to his private feelings. He contented himself with restoring to Henry, in recompense of his final, however late, submission, the whole of the allodial heritage of his two grandmothers, Wulfhilda and Richenza, which his contumacy

under the ban of the Empire, had forfeited, together with some few of their fiefs, the title of Duke of Brunswick, and such imperfect ducal rights as appertained to what have been designated dukedoms in opposition to the original duchies, and even to later duchies constituted by Emperor and Diet conjointly; the dukedom being apparently what the Emperor could singly confer. The lands assigned the Duchess on her marriage, as her dower, Frederic likewise assured to her. But, either as a balance to these concessions, or to guard the new occupants of the Lion's late possessions from disturbance, till they could be somewhat securely established therein, he banished the Duke of Brunswick from the Empire for the space of seven years; a period which, at the intercession of Henry's former mediating protectors, the Pope and the Kings of France and England, he reduced to three. The princes and prelates were again alarmed, and now obtained a solemn promise from the Emperor to grant no further remission of the sentence without their consent.

The following spring, Henry passed over into England with his family, to spend the period of his banishment at the court of his royal father-in-law. Upon his road through his forfeited duchy, he was far from meeting with the respect and consideration due to his misfortunes—a proof as much of the harshness of his government, as of the rudeness of the age. At Bardewyk—which owed him much, which, before he obtained possession of Lubeck, he had endeavoured to exalt into a rival of that thriving city, and where he now intended to rest for a night—not only were the gates closed against him, but the citizens assembled upon the walls for the purpose of grossly insulting him by an indecent exposure of their own persons. The Lion swore that on his return he would make it impossible for the men of Bardewyk again to insult a prince. An oath he did not forget.

About this time Canute VI succeeded his father Waldemar upon the Danish throne. The Emperor summoned him to do homage, and required him to send, with her promised wedding portion, the affianced bride of the Duke of Swabia, to be educated at the Court of her future mother-in-law, the Empress. Why he asked only for

one of the little brides—whether the second was dead, or too mere a baby to be deprived of maternal care—does not appear. Canute, who more than his father, seemingly, sympathized with his Lion father-in-law, eluded or deferred the doing homage; and though he sent his sister as required, he sent her so ill-equipped, carrying with her so poor an instalment of her promised portion, that the Emperor was scarcely less angered by this half compliance, than he might have been by a positive refusal. Apprehensions were conceived that Canute meant to arm on behalf of the Duke of Brunswick. Frederic, however, wished just then to avoid a war with Denmark, and for the moment overlooked the affront; whilst he suffered the matter of homage to remain in some sort in suspense. It is said that, to avert the danger of his arming for his father-in-law, Frederic encouraged Prince Bogislaf of Pomerania to attempt making himself master of Rügen. Whether so stimulated or not, Bogislaf certainly did make the attempt, and Canute's arms were occupied in Slavonian wars.

Whilst these things were passing in Germany, Archbishop Christian, whom the Emperor had left in Italy to watch over and inforce the observance of the treaty, and to maintain peace, had offered his services to the Pope. They were gladly accepted: whereupon he had assisted Alexander thoroughly to subjugate the Romans, and was next employed to extort the submission of the deserted Anti-Pope; who even when given up by his only powerful supporter, still asserted the legality of his own pretensions. Coerced by the Archbishop, Calixtus III now presented himself as Giovanni di Struma to his triumphant rival. But Alexander, however haughty, was wise enough to control his exultation; and unlike Calixtus II, in similar circumstances, adopted every conciliatory measure that could finally heal the schism, by winning the good will of his defeated opponents. He received his forsaken and humbled competitor with all kindness; invited him to dinner—thus, in papal *etiquette*, really treating him as an equal—and, conformably to his convention with the Emperor, provided liberally for him at Benevento.

In March 1179, a general Council convoked by Alexander, had met at Rome, consisting of three patriarchs, three hundred prelates, and crowds of inferior clergy. The first measures of the Pope and his Council referred to the complete closing of the schism. For this purpose most of the anti-popes' ecclesiastical appointments were solemnly confirmed; only such prelates as had simoniacally, or by other incorrect means, attained their dignities, being ejected; some of the anti-popes' regulations touching discipline were annulled, and others, of which the Pope and Council approved, were rendered valid by a solemn sanction. (It may be observed by the way that these deliberate sanctions go far to acquit the better Romish authorities, of dictating the idle Romish vituperation, that represents every anti-pope not merely as a lawless usurper, but as an actual monster of vice and infidelity.) An attempt was made to prevent future schism, by prohibiting such engagements, as those entered into prior to the double election of Alexander and Victor; and by enacting that a Papal Election by two thirds of the Cardinals should be valid, by less than two thirds invalid, and a protest by no more than one third of the Conclave null and void. The principal matter of discipline originating in this Council, was a regulation of the expense to which a bishop might put abbeys and parish priests in his visitation of his diocese. A sufficient escort he was bound to take, but the attendance of a hunting establishment was forbidden, and his train was restricted to forty or fifty horsemen.(84)

Complaints were laid before this Council of the prevalence of heresy, as well in northern Italy—where it may have been connived at whilst the Pope wanted the support of the Lombards—as in the south of France. Similar complaints appear to have been previously made at the Council held by Alexander in France; but little attended to at the time, engrossed as all then were with the schism. Now Pope and Council were at leisure to attend to the doctrine of the Church, and a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against heretics; but as no especial laws were made respecting them, this may for the moment

be sufficient notice, reserving all details for the chapter, which, early in the history of the next century, must be devoted to the subject of heresy.

With this general Council closed the pontificate of Alexander III, which was mainly occupied by the contest with anti-popes. Shortly after the dissolution of the Council, upon the 30th of August, 1181, he died, and was succeeded by Cardinal Ubaldo di Ostia, who took the name of Lucius III. The new Pope was a worthy man, of a ripe old age, and is by many held cheap; though deficient in intellect he could hardly be, since he is said to have been habitually employed by his able predecessors in the most ticklish affairs of the Church.(85) But he had none of the energy of those predecessors, and against him, therefore, Roman turbulence broke out even more fiercely, more insolently than usual; and the Pope, at once indignant and terrified, appealed to the Archbishop of Mainz for protection.

That martial prelate had himself been for some short time in trouble. Whilst actively employed in reducing refractory portions of the Estates of the Church to obedience under Alexander III, he had found himself vigorously opposed by Marquess Conrad, a younger son of the Marquess of Montferrat. As no mention is made of that loyal Marquess's continued adherence to Calixtus, after the imperial nephew of his wife had acknowledged Alexander; or, of any enmity borne by him to any Pope, save as to an enemy of the Emperor; it is to be presumed that his son, who subsequently displayed in the East a very ambitious and adventurous spirit, had engaged independently, as a leader of mercenaries,—perhaps the first noble *Condottiere*—in the service of the papal rebels. But however that may be, he defeated Christian, took him prisoner, demanded an exorbitant ransom, and kept him in close custody till it should be paid. It appears that neither Pope nor Emperor came forward upon this occasion, and the ingenuity of modern historians has been tasked to discover the motive of their conduct. With respect to the Emperor it may however be presumed that he, who was then engrossed by the rebellion of Henry the Lion, deemed it the Pope's business to ransom a prisoner taken in battle for Papal sovereign rights

against Papal rebels, and saw no reason why he should pay Alexander's debt.(86) Why Alexander did not ransom his valuable champion, it is more difficult to say: but, without adopting the suggestion that Christian's services to himself had not quite obliterated those to his rivals, it may be conjectured that he had served him too well for his further service, at least while the Romans were amused with the Council, to be worth so heavy a drain upon an exchequer exhausted by war and intrigue, as the large sum Marquess Conrad demanded. Soon after Alexander's death the Archbishop managed to ransom himself; and immediately was again at the head of an army. Nor does he appear to have thought that he had any ungrateful neglect to resent, for he hastened to obey the call of Lucius, and once more reduced the Romans to submission.

In Lombardy affairs now began to assume an aspect more decidedly favourable to the Emperor. The exasperation generated by long-continued hostilities had had time to subside, leaving room for calm reflection. Venice had never heartily joined the League, and did not renew the connexion after she broke it to co-operate in the siege of Ancona. Some of the members held to be most innately Guelph, even Alessandria, sought the Emperor's favour by entire submission. And gradually the Heads of the League, Milan herself included, reluctantly admitted an apprehension that, without a prospect of support from either the Pope, the King of Sicily, or the Greek Emperor, or some chance of such a diversion in their favour as had arisen from the self-willed obstinacy of the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, they could not really hope to triumph over the German Emperor. Of the last, there was now no German prince powerful enough to afford them a hope; Lucius III was as unable, as William II was unwilling, to engage in war with Frederic Barbarossa; and the able, powerful, and enterprising Manuel had ceased to exist, leaving no successor who could carry out his plans.

By his first marriage Manuel had only a daughter, Maria, who had grown up to womanhood as his presumptive heir, when her mother's death, and his second marriage with Maria of Antioch produced a son to cut her out. Manuel had appointed his widow and a cousin, named Alexius

Comnenus, regents for his minor son; but his daughter, and her husband Rinieri, a son of the Marquess of Montferrat, contended with them for the supreme authority; and when overpowered, invited the exiled Andronicus Comnenus, the ablest perhaps, and certainly the most unprincipled of the family, to join them. Andronicus had been a favourite companion of Manuel's in their youth, and the confidant of his transient illicit amours. A rivalry in some of these had alienated the kinsmen; and Andronicus became a traitor. For two plots against Manuel's life, and a treasonable correspondence with the King of Hungary, he was arrested, escaped from prison, and fled to the Russian principality of Halitsch; where he managed to render Manuel some service that induced his pardon and recall. His subsequent adventures belong rather to the history of the Syro-Frank States, where they will find their place. They had ended in his confinement to a town on the shore of the Euxine. Thence he hastened at the Princess's invitation; accused the Regents of a treasonable correspondence with Bela III of Hungary, who had married Princess Agnes of Antioch, the Empress-Maria's sister; convicted them by a sort of trial, and doomed Alexius to blindness. None would sentence the Empress mother; but she was found one morning a corpse on the sea-shore. The Princess Maria and Rinieri were soon afterwards poisoned, and Andronicus remained Regent. His government disappointed the Greeks, his abilities being smothered, apparently in cruelty, tyranny and profligacy. Neither during the struggle, nor as acknowledged Regent, did he seem to care for the recovery of Italy, and the League speedily saw that from Constantinople there was nothing to hope.

This view of their position induced the Lombards, for the sake of perpetuating the advantages which they then enjoyed, to drop some of their most republican pretensions, and thus to convert the truce into a permanent peace. On the other hand, Frederic's resentment, amidst the affairs in which he was immersed, had similarly had leisure to subside; and he too, perhaps, had reluctantly confessed to himself, that the attainment of his ideal, the perfect re-establishment of the Empire of Charlemagne,

was, for the moment at least, impossible. He saw the German princes daily more averse to Italian expeditions, success in which would strengthen the Head of the Empire against their own ambitious aspirings; whilst his son, the King of the Romans, who shrank from finding his accession embarrassed by apprehensions of a civil war, perceived in existing circumstances such an opportunity of recommending himself to Italy, and even to the Pope, as might secure the support of both to the Empire, and the Empire uncontested to himself.(87) Henry therefore zealously interposed his mediation to effect the object that the Lombards now desired, namely, such improvement of the truce into a peace.

The fruit of all these altered views was the memorable Peace of Constance, signed in that city upon the 25th of June, 1183, which long remained the basis of public law in northern Italy. Its leading provisions were, that, reserving the right of investing and confirming Consuls and Podestàs to the Bishop, wherever he had habitually exercised that right, to the Emperor and his Vicars elsewhere, (and the right of confirming must needs include that of rejecting whenever there was power to assert it,) it allowed every town to elect its magistrates, and to purchase all other rights and royalties for a yearly payment of 2000 lb. of silver into the Imperial treasury, which payment, should it be proved exorbitant, the Emperor promised to reduce. The contributions to the Emperor's Italian expeditions were definitively settled. The vassal's oath of allegiance was to be taken by all Vassals (Consuls and other Magistrates included), the citizen's oath by all male inhabitants between the ages of seventeen and seventy, and both oaths were to be decennially repeated. All classes were further to swear to respect and preserve the Emperor's fortifications, and to maintain his Imperial rights against the world. The citizens in return were authorized to wall and otherwise fortify the towns; to raise troops, and to form confederations; this last, a privilege which, as an adjunct of what he was constantly labouring to repress, *viz.*, the right of waging private war, Frederic was always reluctant to grant, and which in his German charters he habitually withheld. An appeal lay

to the Emperor from all Italian tribunals, and a supreme Imperial Judge was appointed, to hear and decide upon such appeals when the Emperor should be in Germany. This treaty, granting all that the Lombards had as yet learned really to desire,(88) was received with unbounded delight in Lombardy, and the idea of an independent, federal republic, seems for a time to have died away.

The Peace of Constance was signed as before said, June 25, 1183, and as though he had lived only whilst the Emperor wanted his military services in Italy, that day two months Archbishop Christian died, probably of a fever; and the marvel seems to be that his German constitution had so long borne such an active life in a southern climate. Conformably, however, to the usual accusation in such cases of premature decease, contemporary Chroniclers affirm that the Romans poisoned the prelate to deprive the Pope of his championship. And it must be confessed the charge is somewhat corroborated by the fact that the Romans were no sooner relieved, whether by the course of nature or by their own crime, from all fear of this formidable antagonist, than they again rose against their pontifical sovereign. Without his deceased protector, he was again unequal to the contest; and though he could not be compelled to yield to their demands, he could be, and was, again driven from Rome.

The see of Mainz did not lose much in its warlike Archbishop, whom it rarely beheld, and whose place was immediately supplied by the re-instalment of his formerly successful competitor, Conrad von Wittelsbach. To the Emperor and Empire the loss of such a public servant was grievous. In Italy, indeed, it was very much compensated by the gain of a race that was daily rising in power. Ezzelino da Romano, who had commanded the forces of the Lombard League against the Emperor, now solicited a reconciliation with him, and became thenceforward the Head of the Italian Ghibelines.

In Germany, some disturbances had arisen from an attempt of the new Duke of Saxony to tread in his predecessor's footsteps, in regard to vassals and neighbours. But Bernard was as deficient in the immense power and the influence arising from old habitual relations of

sovereign and vassal, as in the lofty qualities that had enabled the Lion to trample on all around him. Neither the great Saxon vassals nor Lubeck would submit to his pretensions; and the Emperor's intervention between Duke, vassals, and Free Imperial City, was required to quell the troubles, and reconcile all parties. He judged all to be, one way or another, in the wrong, and fined the opposers of ducal usurpation for having taken redress into their own hands, whilst he forbade the Duke again to encroach upon their rights.

Peace now reigned throughout the Empire, and Frederic Barbarossa resolved to celebrate it by a festival of such Imperial magnificence as had not been seen for centuries, and should strike his contemporaries with admiration. The occasion he selected for this festival, was the tournament proclaimed to celebrate the knighting of his elder sons; and he appointed for its time and place the Whitsuntide Diet of 1184, to be held at Mainz; as the solemn restoration of that city to its original rank, after undergoing the due punishment of its crimes, in years of desolation and desertion.

There, at the appointed season, the princes, prelates, and nobles of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy assembled; the laity accompanied by their wives and daughters, and all attended by trains calculated to display their wealth and consequence. That Philip Earl of Flanders led thither 600 knights, has been carefully recorded by Flemish chronicles; though we might conceive they should rather have suppressed such a proof of his inferior power; inasmuch as the trains are reported to have amounted in many instances to 1000 knights, in some to 4000; the largest, the Archbishop of Cologne's, it is said, to 4060. Thither also flocked princes, nobles and knights, from England, France, and Spain, from Illyria, and many Slavonian states, attracted by the fame of the tournament at which the Emperor's sons were to win their golden spurs, and when they should have received, to approve themselves worthy of them. Troubadours, scalds, bards, minstrels of all countries presented themselves to enliven the banquet, and to sing the praises of the victor in the lists. According to the lowest computation 40,000, according to the

highest 70,000 knights of all ranks were here gathered together; of the number of ladies, "whose bright eyes rained influence," no estimate is given; and of the lower orders, the throng attracted by curiosity and cupidity is described as innumerable. It being evident now, as it had been some sixty years before, at Lothar's election, that Mainz could not lodge such a host, accommodation was provided without the walls. A pleasure house, with an adjoining chapel, was built for the Emperor upon the bank of the Rhine, environing which arose analogous dwellings for the princes, and, further off, tents for the lesser nobles, till a goodly city appeared to have been created by the touch of a fairy's wand. Measures had been taken for ensuring an adequate supply of provisions by the river, and this entire multitude was entertained, with due distinction of ranks and tables, at the Emperor's expense, as long as the festival lasted. Whilst in the temporary Imperial palace the chief Princes of the Empire, in proof of the supreme dignity of the Emperor [89], performed the functions of their several household offices: the Rhine Palsgrave as Arch-Sewer, the Duke of Saxony as Arch-Marshal, the Margrave of Brandenburg as Arch-Chamberlain, and the King of Bohemia as Arch-Butler or Cup-bearer. Whatever they had been before, these offices were now inseparably annexed to those titles and principalities.

Some public business was necessarily transacted at so grand a Diet: but none, it should seem, worth mentioning except the determination taken to enter Poland in arms, and forcibly reinstal the supplanted elder brother, Mieczyslaf, in his duchy of Great Poland and his suzerainty. The execution of this decree was to be the first adventure of the young knight, Henry King of the Romans. And this expedition may at once be preliminarily disposed of, by stating that Kasimir, upon hearing that it was projected, hastened to do homage to the Emperor, and acknowledge the authority of the Diet; whereupon the Princes of the Empire contented themselves with obtaining from him a younger brother's appanage for Mieczyslaf; who, some years later, upon Kasimir's sudden death, recovered his birthright.

The real business of the Mainz assemblage was the

tournament. Tiltings, joustings, the *melée*, under the eyes of the Empress, and the ladies forming her court, occupied the mornings: when the lists glittered with golden or gilded shields, armour, and helmets, radiant with precious stones, as if in emulation of the silks, satins, and jewellery of the admired and admiring, if anxious, spectatresses. In these chivalrous pastimes, Frederic himself took part, and the elder three of his sons, Henry, Frederic, and Conrad, successfully exhibiting their prowess, received knighthood from the hand of their Imperial father. Magnificently profuse banquets refreshed the tourneyers after the fatigues of the mimic war, and, in the evenings, minstrelsy and gay dances closed the pleasures of the day.

The splendours of this festival, and the presence of the noblest as of the most poetical of the votaries of the Muses and of the patrons of those votaries, are believed to have awakened the genius of some at least of those German bards, who then, or soon afterwards, began to draw the attention of their nation to vernacular poetry, and who will be more particularly noticed in a chapter dedicated to the progress of the age in intellectual culture and civilization. It is also believed and averred that these splendours have remained pretty nearly as unparalleled as they were unprecedented. Frederic Barbarossa's was, from his own character, a chivalrous magnificence, and the age was one of profusion, if not of real luxury.

Only one incident threatened to mar the harmony of the good meeting with what would indeed, in modern days, be "most admired disorder," though nothing extraordinary in the Middle Ages. At the very opening of either the Diet or the festival, some solemnity having congregated the magnates present in the Cathedral, the Emperor took his seat, and the Princes were arranging themselves in proper order, the Archbishops of Mainz and Cologne upon his right and left, when the Abbot of Fulda stood forth to oppose the latter prelate. He asserted that the place on the Emperor's left hand belonged at Mainz, by prescription of centuries, to the Fulda Abbot, and had been unjustly usurped by the Archbishop of Cologne. Frederic, well aware that the Abbot had right on his side, requested the Archbishop, as a tried and valued friend, to give way. But this was

too much for Philip von Heinsberg. Starting up in wrath, he said, that he yielded to his sovereign's wish, but requested permission at the same time to withdraw from the court festival. As he spoke he was departing, followed by his vassals, amongst whom were the Duke of Brabant, the Earl of Nassau, and even the Emperor's brother, Rhine-Palsgrave Conrad, who, as he rose, said, "I am the Cologner's man [*i. e.*, vassal], and, with your leave, Lord Emperor, bound to follow him." The Landgrave of Thuringia, a vassal of Fulda, cried sneeringly to the Earl of Nassau, "Well have you earned your fief to-day, Sir Earl!" "I have," retorted the Earl; "and, if need be, yet better will I this day earn it!"

Under Henry IV, such a broil had led to bloodshed; and from the temper displayed by Philip, and the numerical strength of his vassalage and train, a similar result might well be apprehended. The alarm was general, when the young King of the Romans, springing from his seat, clasped the angry Archbishop in his arms, and implored him not thus at once to destroy all the enjoyment anticipated at the festival. The prelate, in reply, exclaimed against so ungrateful a return for his many and arduous services, as the exaltation of a monk over his head. The Emperor himself now came forward, to assure the Archbishop that he had so acted by no means through favour to his antagonist, but regretfully, and solely from his knowledge that the Abbot's claim was well-founded; and he was lifting up his hand to attest the truth of this assertion by oath, when the Archbishop, whom such Imperial condescension had at length appeased, stopped him, saying the Emperor's word was equal to any oath. He was now about, in compliance with the request that had so enraged him, to take a lowlier seat, when the Abbot, satisfied with this public recognition of his right, gave way, yielding the contested place to the Archbishop, and tranquillity was restored.

The festival over, the Emperor wished to revisit Italy; and, considering Germany in a perfectly satisfactory state, committed the government north of the Alps to the young King of the Romans, who seems, in truth, to have had little of youth about him except its physical advantages.

His government, though, upon this occasion, short, was not, however, wholly undisturbed. A feud presently broke out between Conrad Archbishop of Mainz, and Lewis Landgrave of Thuringia, upon the old quarrel, touching the archiepiscopal claim to tithes and other ecclesiastical dues, in Thuringia. King Henry wished to arbitrate between them, and assembled them, with many more princes, prelates, and nobles as assistant arbitrators, in the Chapter House at Erfurt. It had not, apparently, been built with a view to such uses, and, in the midst of the discussion, the overweighted floor of the hall where they sat gave way, precipitating great part of the company into a drain underneath. Henry and the Archbishop, chancing to have been placed upon firmer beams or joists, escaped the general disaster, and the Landgrave was safely extricated; but some princes and nobles were actually crushed or smothered. Henry had, it may be presumed, already discovered that the idea of compromising the quarrel was hopeless: so, affecting to consider the accident as a divine warning against interference, he abandoned the attempt, and the feud proceeded.

A double election to the metropolitan see of Treves had occurred upon the death of Archbishop Arnold, in 1183, and, according to the Calixtine *Concordat*, been referred to the Emperor, who ordered a new election. But Folcmar, one of the pretenders, who was accused of having simoniacally obtained the votes given him, appealed to the Pope: and King Henry, whether in resentment of this attempted evasion of the Imperial authority, or in punishment of his alleged simony, attacked his partisans, expelled them, and seized their lands. But the most serious trouble of the young King's administration was a quarrel with Archbishop Philip. This self-willed prelate, in wanton revenge, rather than retaliation, of some offence given him in times long past at Augsburg, ordered his people to fall upon and plunder a company of Augsburg travelling merchants. The unlucky traders appealed to the King, who desired the Archbishop to procure the restitution of the stolen property. Philip refused, and Henry in arms extorted compliance. The Archbishop thereupon, as if to mark a withdrawal from

worldly concerns, undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury. In England he was honourably received by Henry II, and reconciled to his old enemy, Henry the Lion. It has been asserted that he negotiated a treaty of marriage between a daughter of the Emperor's and the heir of England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou and Poitou, Richard Cœur de Lion(90); but, as Richard was then affianced to Princess Alice of France, if the prelate proposed anything of the kind, it must have been an unauthorized scheme, designed either to give himself diplomatic consequence in England, or to increase his power in Germany, by the appearance of influence in England.

Frederic meanwhile had crossed the Alps in the autumn of 1184, but without an army; Lombardy was pacified, and he went as undisputed Sovereign amongst vassals and subjects. At Verona he was met by Lucius III, in the character of a suppliant for Imperial assistance against the insurgent Romans; who, since his expulsion from his pontifical residence, had ill-used many of the clergy, had, accidentally meeting a party of priests, put out the eyes of all but one, leaving that single one his, to guide the rest to their master the Pope. As far as Imperial influence might act, the request was readily granted: but the Emperor had no German troops with him to lend the Holy Father, and could hardly feel such confidence in the Lombards, as should induce him to raise an unmixed Lombard army for his service. Nor was he, it may be conjectured, very anxious to see a Pope, of the disposition presently discovered by Lucius, in undisturbed possession of the Papal sovereign power. For, when this pontiff was disappointed of the effective protection upon which he had calculated, divers irreconcileable differences arose between the two Heads of Christendom. This really helpless Pope proved yet more intractable than his predecessor. He refused to confirm any ecclesiastical appointment by an anti-pope, except those of the deceased Christian to the see of Mainz, and of Philip to that of Cologne. He refused to admit the Emperor's right of interference in the double election at Treves, arbitrarily adjudging the see to Folcmar. He refused to sanction, even to pardon, King Henry's coercion of the Archbishop of Cologne, in

behalf of the plundered Augsburg traders; and finally he refused to crown the son unless the father first abdicated the Empire. Frederic was indignant, and though he did not break off the negotiation, he suffered it to languish, whilst he made trial of the temper of his now reconciled subjects, the Milanese.

Eagerly were they, the Milanese, expecting the promised Imperial visit; and when the Emperor appeared, delighted with the confidence he placed in them, they received him with the highest honours, with all imaginable demonstrations of the most devoted loyalty. It might almost seem that a real attachment had sprung up between the sovereign and the subjects who had so long opposed each other in arms. He granted them additional privileges, amongst others that of electing their own Podestà, whom they continued nevertheless to consider and to treat as an Imperial officer; he freed them from all those restrictions upon the sports of the field, which had ever been such a topic of complaint and irritation; and yet further, he gratified them by consenting to the reconstruction of Crema. The Milanese, enchanted with his condescension to their wishes, swore in return to assist him in upholding and recovering all Imperial rights, especially in regard to the Matildan heritage; the conflicting claims to which were esteemed a main ground of papal enmity. Lucius, on the other hand, persisted in all his refusals, notwithstanding Frederic's conciliatory overtures and visits to the Holy Father at Verona, where, during his exclusion from Rome, he had fixed his residence.

It was not without sufficient cause that the Emperor was now endeavouring to conciliate the Pope, whose good or ill will might prove of great importance to the project then occupying him. He was negotiating a marriage for the King of the Romans, which, if Lombardy frankly acknowledged her vassalage, would unite the whole of Italy indissolubly with Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, and which, therefore, could hardly fail of being distasteful to the Pope. But prior to explaining this scheme, it will be well to learn the condition of Sicily and Apulia under William II.

The lenient measures of the Queen Mother had tran-

quillized the country, and her regency was unstained with blood; whilst, Alexander III's constant need of Sicilian support against anti-popes and the Emperor rendering him more indulgent than he would naturally have been, he had closed his eyes to her offenceful conduct, in causing her son to be crowned without reference to his paramount authority. Both mother and son remained his faithful allies and partisans. But Margaret's government, if bloodless, was far from untroubled, her court and council being distracted with ceaseless cabals. Her French and her Spanish kinsmen—as a Princess of Navarre she had both—intriguing against each other and against her ministers; her ministers against each other and against both parties of her kinsmen; whilst all combined against Pietro Gaeta—one of those Harem guardians already mentioned as habitually employed in the royal household of Sicily—who possessed her entire confidence. These cabals ended in the flight of Pietro Gaeta to seek an asylum in Morocco; leaving his chief rival, the English Bishop of Syracuse, master of the field, as far as he could be so whilst the crafty Matteo retained his influence, and his post of Vice or Sub-Chancellor, from which he is said to have been subsequently advanced to that of *Proto-Notajo:* whilst Margaret increased the general confusion and exasperation by making a French cousin Grand-Chancellor and Archbishop of Palermo.(91)

Other cabals succeeded, and continued to do so after William II had himself assumed the government. To such a degree did they harass both court and country, as not only to prevent the King taking any active part in the general affairs of Italy, but to determine his French preceptor, Pierre de Blois, though sincerely attached to his royal pupil, to decline the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the kingdom, and take his chance as a Professor at the High School of Paris. He subsequently, as a learned man, obtained the archdeaconry of Bath, with the chancellorship of the see of Canterbury; and being thus settled in England, negotiated the marriage of the Sicilian monarch with Henry II of England's third daughter, Joanna, A.D. 1176. But the union proved unfruitful, and intrigues, now relative to the succession as well as for

present power, multiplied around William, an apparently amiable but weak prince, who yielded unresistingly to all priestly encroachment; whence, perhaps, as much as in contrast to his father, his surname of the Good.

It has been seen that, from the vague, the indefinite, state of the law in regard to collateral succession, the failure of royal children habitually produced conflicting pretensions, and consequent civil war. Upon the present occasion the cabals to which the prospect of William's dying childless, however remote—he was still in the prime of life—gave occasion, were prosecuted the more unscrupulously, because the now only legitimate heir of the once numerous house of Hauteville was a female. There were indeed lawful descendants of Robert Guiscard, through Bohemund at Antioch; but they seem to have been considered from the first as an illegitimate branch. The heiress in question was Constance, a posthumous daughter of King Roger, by his third wife, and aunt to William II. Originally, when there was no fear of any deficiency of heirs, she had been destined for the cloister. But whether she had, or had not, entered even upon her novitiate, whether in short any step towards fulfilling this destination beyond placing her for education in a nunnery, had been taken, and even whether she were so destined and educated, were and are questions much disputed by the partisans and the enemies of her son.(92) But as even Cardinal Baronius admits that she never had actually pronounced her vows, so much may be accepted as certain. Upon Princess Constance (although no longer in the bloom of youth—she was then 31 years of age—and the illegitimate sons of her father, and of her brothers, were by no means disposed to acknowledge her birthright), Frederic had fixed for the consort of his son.

Lucius III, naturally endeavoured to prevent a marriage calculated to inclose the papal dominions within those of the Swabian Emperors. He fomented the opposition offered to it at Palermo, by the illegitimate princes and their faction; but does not appear to have had resource to extreme measures; and pending the matrimonial negotiations, in November 1185, he died. His successor was Uberto Crivelli, a Milanese by birth, and Archbishop of

Milan; who took the name of Urban III, and as Pope chose to retain his archbishopric. This clearly not altogether disinterested pontiff had not, with his fellow citizens, changed his old hatred of the Emperor into love; and prepared, with every prospect, as he hoped, of success, vigorously to obstruct the marriage treaty. The Sicilian Court was in fact much divided upon the subject. The proposed nuptials were violently opposed by Maione's creature and, in some measure, successor, the Vice-Chancellor, Matteo di Salerno, the craftily factious partisan of the illegitimate pretenders to the succession; but were favoured by his own superior, Gualtiero della Pagliara, Bishop of Troja, and Grand-Chancellor, whom Matteo most especially hated, and by the Archbishop of Palermo, seemingly another Englishman, and as such patronised by Queen Joanna, herself a warm friend of the Princess. Before Urban had time to set his engines in action, this party had persuaded William, both to accept the Emperor's proposals for the hand of his aunt, and to cause her, ere she left Palermo, to be formally recognized as his heir, in case he should continue childless. The Princess was then despatched to journey—the humiliating course which few Queens or Empresses escape—to her expecting bridegroom. She was attended by 150 sumpter cattle, carrying her wedding portion, and was ceremoniously conducted to Milan. There the Emperor and the King of the Romans received her;—the Empress Beatrice had died since the Mainz festival—and there, to the rapturous delight of the now loyal Milanese, the wedding was solemnized upon the 27th of January, 1186. Upon this occasion the Arelat Archbishop of Vienne crowned the Emperor; the Patriarch of Aquileia, King Henry; and a German Bishop, Queen Constance. A general amnesty was proclaimed in honour of the bridal, which was celebrated with festivities of all descriptions then usual. German Princes, Siculo-Norman Barons, Italian Ghibeline Nobles, and Lombard Consuls, revelled together; and such was the throng of visitors that, as at Mainz, wooden houses were constructed without the walls for their accommodation.

Frederic had flattered himself that when once his son

and the Norman heiress were indissolubly united, the Pope, seeing the perfect harmony that reigned between him and the Milanese, would desist from his opposition and enmity. But Urban individually hated him, in resentment of the evils suffered by some of his family at the fall of Milan. He now solemnly deposed the Patriarch of Aquileia, and all the other prelates who had officiated at either the conjoint marriage and coronation ceremonies, or at Henry's subsequent coronation with the iron crown of Lombardy, at which the same Patriarch is said, in defiance of the Papal prohibition, to have officiated.(93) Urban further made bitter complaints of the detention of the Matildan heritage—although the period of occupation conceded by the treaty with Alexander III had not yet expired—and of divers alleged Imperial encroachments upon episcopal, monastic, and other ecclesiastical privileges. He stirred up rebellion against the Emperor in Italy, and found in Tuscany materials ready prepared to his hand. Florence, emulating Milan, had now subjugated so many of her neighbours, and so tyrannized over the inthralled, that a Tuscan deputation, headed by envoys from Sienna, had waited upon the Emperor at Milan, with complaints of her aggressions, and he had pronounced her charters forfeited. Florence, irritated by the sentence, hardly required the spur of Papal encouragement, to revolt.(94) In Lombardy, by stimulating Cremonese jealousy of the favour shown to Milan, especially in the rebuilding of Crema, he, who called himself the spiritual father of all Christians, excited the habitually Ghibeline Cremona to follow the example of Florence. In Germany he at least stirred up broils: and in despite of all remonstrances, and representations of the Imperial rights as confirmed by the Calixtine *Concordat*, he took upon himself to consecrate Folcmar, the pretender whom the Emperor the most decidedly rejected, to the see of Treves.

Frederic saw that the master's hand was wanted on both sides of the Alps; and now committing to his son the government of Italy, and the contest with the Pope, he returned to Germany. Henry, who to the energy and much of the ability of his father, united the inordinate

ambition, the implacability, and ruthlessness, falsely ascribed to that father, performed the part assigned him so far successfully, that he held Urban blockaded, and well-nigh a prisoner at Verona; where this Pope, like his predecessor, had established his court, for so long as Rome should be inaccessible to her pontifical sovereign. These audacious operations, and yet more, perhaps, the harshness of his language and demeanour, exasperated the half-captive Pope beyond all bounds; and he was proceeding to excommunicate both him and his father. But the Veronese declared that no such sentence against the Emperor should be fulminated within their walls; and, for the moment, the sole object of Urban's thoughts was how to escape from Verona without falling into Henry's hands.

In Germany, Frederic found Henry the Lion, his reduced term of exile having now expired. But whether his leonine temper were partially tamed by past calamities, or that he were silently preparing to avenge them, he appeared to be quietly residing at Brunswick, engrossed by the business of his restored property, and uninterested in the feuds or the intrigues around him.

The Emperor's first measure was to convoke a Diet at Gelnhausen: in which, by reasoning and remonstrance, by a detail of Urban's hostile conduct and usurpations, and somewhat by concessions,(95) he won back most of those, most even of the bishops, whom the Pope had excited against him. Then, sanctioned by the Diet, and secure of the fidelity of the chief temporal princes, he proceeded to compel the obedience of the few still contumacious prelates. Amongst these, with painful surprise, he found the much favoured Archbishop of Cologne; who, unable to forgive his coercion by King Henry, had returned from England a thorough Guelph, and instantly declared for Urban against the Emperor. The defalcation of a prelate upon whose active loyalty he had long relied, grieved Frederic, but could no otherwise alter his course, than by adding to his labours. He first expelled Folcmar from the archiepiscopal palace and see of Treves, as wrongfully occupying them, and installed in them his rival, rejected (by the Pope) Rudolph. He then turned his arms

against Archbishop Philip; laid an embargo upon the Rhine, and was proceeding to yet stronger measures of hostility; when tidings arrived from Palestine, such as, in all European heads and hearts, whether clerical or lay, superseded every thought, alien to what seemed, at once, the sole and the common concern of Christendom.

Jerusalem had surrendered to the Moslem! The Holy Sepulchre, so arduously recovered, was again in the hands of the enemies of God! Private and public hatreds and rivalries were forgotten. A new Crusade was, or seemed to be, the one business of life.

CHAPTER X.

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

BALDWIN III—AMALRIC.

Baldwin's Military Success—Noureddin's Plans—Syro-Frank Dissentions—Egyptian Affairs—Amalric's Accession—His Wars—Saladin in Egypt—Christian and Moslem Internal Dissentions. [1152-1169.

ERE the consequences of the great misfortune that had just befallen Christendom (a misfortune that might long have been foreseen) are related, it will be expedient to take a retrospective survey of the faults and follies which had preceded, and at least contributed to produce that unfortunate triumph of Moslem valour and ability. In other words, to inquire into the fortunes of the Syro-Frank states, during the third of a century, that had elapsed since the second Crusade.

When the condition and prospects of those states were last considered, Baldwin III and Noureddin were the rival occupants of the stage, and of these the Turk was by far the more distinguished character. El Malek el Aadil Noureddin Mohammed—his more correct denomination—was indeed the very ideal of a Moslem hero. Tall, handsome, and even fair, excelling in martial exercises, and valiant as active in war; just, merciful, and liberal in peace, he was as scrupulous in obeying the precepts of Islam as he was zealous in propagating its creed. He caused the dust gathered by his feet in his Holy Wars—*i. e.*, those against Christians or Idolaters—to be collected and preserved for his pillow in the grave. Four days in every week he sat, in Oriental fashion, at his gate to administer justice, accessible to all, listening to all, unbiassed by distinction of persons, country, or even religion. Appropriating the whole of the public revenue to the public service, he lived upon his private fortune,

and of that gave away so much in charity that he had little left for household expenses, and allowed his wife—the expression, which repeatedly occurs, looks as if he was satisfied with one—only twenty gold pieces a-year for her dress. To her complaints of her unprincely apparel, he would answer: "Of my own I have no more; of the wealth of the Faithful I am but the Treasurer; and I cannot incur eternal perdition to trick thee out more showily." In public concerns he was no niggard of the public money: everywhere he repaired walls and improved fortifications, built hospitals, mosques with schools attached to them, libraries, baths, and fountains. Amongst his troops he enforced the strictest discipline; but, though he gave them no land, saying, "The camp must be the soldier's home," he was most generous to them, taking charge of the families of all who fell in battle.

But the dangers to be apprehended from this formidable enemy were not immediately apparent. Noureddin had some respect for the military prowess of the Syro-Franks; more for that of the monastic knights and the crusaders; and, therefore, fully adopting his father's policy, he saw that he must at least reconstruct Zenghi's now subdivided mass of dominions and power, before he could, with any prospect of success, attempt to clear Syria from intrusive Christians. Whilst thus preparing for the conflict, to avoid premature hostilities with the Christians was an essential element of his policy.

As yet Jerusalem entertained no fear of him, and the belligerent propensities of her youthful monarch, though often betraying him into rash or ill concerted enterprises, seemed to have temporarily regenerated the nation. Even the disasters occasionally resulting from Baldwin's temerity, as they called forth his higher qualities, invincible resolution, and fortitude—seemed, by exciting affection for the young King, to raise the character of his subjects, whilst they gradually so matured his own that he ultimately commanded the respect of both friends and foes. About this time, a most unlooked for victory, and a subsequent conquest in the South, nearly the last won by the Syro-Franks, in some measure counterbalanced the recent losses in the North.

In the end of the year 1152, a wild horde of Turcomans, carefully avoiding to trespass upon the territories of Noureddin, poured into Palestine. The King and his Councillors, deeming fortified towns unendangered, as impregnable by such barbarians, collected the troops before the unwalled and therefore imperilled Neapolis, which lay in the direction they seemed to be pursuing. But the object of the Turcomans was Jerusalem, which their ancestors had, in the eleventh century, torn from the Fatemite caliphate; and, again avoiding an encounter with the prepared foes, whose prowess they feared, and taking a line that, being thought secure against them, had been left unguarded, they reached the Holy City, and encamped upon the Mount of Olives. This profanation of a hallowed spot fired the Jerusalemites to an utter forgetfulness of caution. The few knights remaining in the city, gathered together what men and arms they could muster, rushed out, and fell with such impetuosity upon the abhorred Turcomans, that they defeated and routed them; then, as impetuously pursuing, they actually drove them out of Palestine, without the aid, or even the knowledge, of the royal army.

Encouraged by this success, Baldwin led his forces southward, once more to besiege Ascalon. The Saracens defended themselves resolutely, and despatched messengers to the Sultan of Damascus, and to the more distant Noureddin, soliciting succours. But the Emir, Atabeg, or Sultan, Anar, was dead, and his nominal master, or successor, the imbecile Modjireddin Abek, being now in fact tributary to Baldwin, would not, whatever he may have vaguely promised, take arms against the Christian neighbour whom he dreaded. Thus disappointing the energetic Noureddin of the expected co-operation, and even opposing his passage, he foiled all measures projected for the relief of the besieged city. For months did Ascalon, daily expecting the promised succours, hold the force of Palestine at bay. At length the besiegers were joined by a band of armed pilgrims from Europe, amongst whom there chanced to be an able engineer. The battering train was immediately improved, and one of the usual movable towers built and brought up to the attack. The Saracens

managed to set it on fire; but the wind at that moment shifting, drove the flames over upon the town, and a portion of the wall was burnt. The breach thus made was a full equivalent for the loss of the tower; and Ascalon, it is averred might upon the instant have been taken, but for the insolent rapacity of the Templars, whose faults now often endangered the kingdom of which their valour was the mainstay. They, headed by their Grand-Master, Bernard de Tremelai, were the first to storm the breach, where some of their body are reported to have remained stationary, in order to exclude their fellow soldiers, and monopolise the booty. This attempt at monopoly is denied by the partisans of the Templars, (96) and if the offence were true, fearfully was it punished: for it is very certain that they only, or with very few companions, had entered the town, when the Saracens, recovering from the momentary torpor of consternation, surrounded, with overpowering numbers, their handful of enemies, and after a sharp struggle cut them down to a man; whilst those who could not find room to take a share in the conflict, were hastily obstructing the breach and repairing the damaged fortification. They hung the bodies of the slain out over the wall, as if in mockery of the besiegers.

This disaster, including the loss of the Grand-Master of the Templars, following upon the loss of their tower, so discouraged Baldwin and his Baronage that they proposed to raise the siege. The humiliation of such a step was averted by the vehement exhortations of Raimond du Puy, Grand-Master of the Hospital —eager perhaps to exalt his own Order at its rival's expense—and of the centenarian Patriarch of Jerusalem, Fulcher, to whose eloquence the revival of the King's spirits is mainly ascribed. A few days afterwards, the troops, called upon to avenge the Templars, renewed the assault so vigorously, that Ascalon, now despairing of efficient succours from without, offered to capitulate. The only condition granted was a safe conduct for the inhabitants and their movable property to El Arish. They evacuated their native place accordingly, and were duly escorted the covenanted distance on their way. But no sooner had their Christian guard left them, than a Turcoman band,

their own paid auxiliaries, turned upon the exiles, attacked, plundered, and routed them, putting numbers to death. Meanwhile the banner of the Cross floated over Ascalon, and the whole army sang the *Te Deum*. The kingdom of Jerusalem had now acquired the historic boundaries of the Holy Land.

But Noureddin's power was increasing far more rapidly and materially. He had long looked to Damascus, as the fulcrum, upon which the lever, destined to overthrow Frank usurpation, must rest: and Modjireddin's paltering about the relief of Ascalon, offered him a plea to his conscience, for incorporating it with his own dominions. Upon this occasion he is charged with having employed, in dealing with his co-religionists, craft to prepare the way for force; a proceeding which he might deem lawful to spare the shedding of Moslem blood, if his stratagem were really calculated so to do. According to some accounts, his emissaries merely induced the Emirs to desert their Sultan for him, by working upon their horror of Modjireddin's connexion with the Christians; according to others he had recourse to far different, and far less lawful means. They charge him with having contrived to render the first citizens of Damascus, objects of suspicion to the Sultan; in order that the acts of violence and cruelty which that suspicion engendered, might exasperate the inhabitants to such a degree as should render the task of winning them to desire Noureddin as their sovereign, in preference to their incapable tyrant, easy. Either way the hearts of the men of Damascus were already his, when the Atabeg sat down before their walls, and they speedily compelled Modjireddin to capitulate. Again Noureddin is taxed with not having faithfully executed the terms granted; with having offered the Sultan, in lieu of Emesa for which in his capitulation he had stipulated, some remote and insignificant lordships, and when he refused to accept them as an equivalent for Emesa, having given him nothing. That this was not an age of scrupulous veracity has already been observed, and it is by no means impossible, perhaps not even unlikely, that Noureddin, however honourable, having promised anything to get Damascus bloodlessly, did not chuse to risk

the Mohammedan cause by intrusting a city, important as was Emesa, to hands whose incapacity had been proved.

Noureddin, by this acquisition, in a manner turned the flank of the Christian Kingdom, and looked confidently forward to its subjugation. For the present he made Damascus his capital, as the seat of his government. He improved the defences of this already strong city; and he adorned it with baths and fountains, as well as with mosques and the schools usually attached to them, with colleges and libraries; and hence he prepared to wage regular war against the intrusive Franks.

Those Franks, occupied with their increasing internal disorders, were hardly even thinking of preparations for defence. At Antioch, the widowed Constance, after refusing several suitable proposals of marriage, fell in love with a mere adventurer. This was Renaud de Chatillon; a knight indeed, and a bold one, of great prowess in arms, but of the lowest order of nobility; who having been brought to Syria by Lewis VII, had remained there to seek his fortune. And he found it; for him, despite the strenuous opposition of the Patriarch, the sovereign Princess wedded; and to him she transferred her whole authority. Rapaciously and tyrannically he used it: of which his treatment of the Patriarch, whom he hated as the opponent of his marriage, will be a sufficient instance. He first demanded a large sum of money from him; which being refused, he ordered the aged prelate to be seized, and after his bald head had been well smeared with honey, placed under a south wall, in broiling sunshine, amidst swarms of insects, until the insupportable torment drove him to purchase his release by the surrender of all his hoarded treasures. He was no sooner at liberty, than, distrusting the professions of the Prince of Antioch, as Chatillon was now entitled, the plundered Patriarch fled from his station and his duties, to Jerusalem.

Within the kingdom itself, dissentions, beyond Baldwin's power to appease or repress, prevailed. The Templars and Hospitalers, if valiant as ever, were no longer single-minded, military monks. Already had wealth lowered the original spirit that produced this peculiar species of chivalry. Many knights were engrossed by the care of the ample

estates of their several Orders; whilst others were habitually detained in Europe by the service due for fiefs. Still valiant, they fought the infidels as gallantly as ever; but they now looked for profit in so doing, and sold their arms to the King of Jerusalem, as though he had been a foreign prince. Pride and ostentation had already superseded simplicity: and the Hospitalers, no longer worthy of that name, are said to have even so early devolved their original and especial office, the tendance of the sick, upon their serving-brothers and their chaplains. Both Orders were at open enmity with the hierarchy; the Clergy had always very reluctantly admitted the exemption from episcopal control, as from payment of tithes, and the other spiritual privileges granted them by the Popes, as to the champions of Christendom. They now refused to acknowledge the validity of those grants, and the Knights of St. John, as the Hospitalers ought, perhaps, henceforward to be called, resented this attempt to dispute their prerogatives, by misusing them. They made their chaplains administer the rites of the church to excommunicated persons; they made them perform divine service in places under interdict; not as before, quietly in closed chapels, as for their own private worship, but with chiming-bells, open doors, and all the pomp of publicity. These indecent hostilities reached their climax at Jerusalem; where, whilst the aged Patriarch Fulcher was preaching in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Raymond, Grand-Master of St. John, ordered such a clatter of bells in their adjacent Hospital, or convent, as completely drowned his voice; whilst one of the Knights actually entered the church, his bow ready bent in his hand, to shoot arrows amongst the congregation. The Patriarch, notwithstanding his hundred winters' snows, repaired to Italy, attended by several prelates, to lay his complaint before the Pope. This was in the year 1154: and he found Adrian IV too much occupied by his own concerns with the Romans, the Emperor, and the King of Sicily, to bestow upon the ecclesiastical concerns of Palestine such a degree of attentive consideration as would have afforded a chance of counterbalancing his natural disposition both to maintain the acts, grants or other, of his predecessors, and to favour Orders so immediately

attached to the papacy, as the Templars and Hospitalers. The Patriarch accused the Pope of being bribed, or at least prejudiced, and returned unsuccessful; his defeat naturally inflated the arrogance of the Knights of St. John.

If the Templars were less embroiled with the Palestine clergy, they, about the same time, most offensively, even as the story is told by their friends, displayed that thirst for gold which, disgracing their chivalrousness, almost renders probable some of the charges subsequently brought against them. The tale requires a glance at Egypt.

There, it will be recollected, the Fatemite Caliphs had suffered the whole power of a despotic sovereign to pass into the hands of hereditary Sultan-Viziers, whose regular succession was however occasionally interrupted by murder. The policy of the Sultan-Viziers was essentially pacific, because war must have obliged them either to intrust an army to a leader, who might use it against themselves, or to head their troops in person, thus leaving the palace open to a rival. Whilst Ascalon was Egyptian they had trusted in its strength for defence against the Syro-Franks; upon its fall they offered to purchase peace by paying tribute, and Baldwin, whose exchequer the long siege had drained, gladly replenished it by the transaction.

But the reigning Caliph Dhafer, in the indulgence of his extravagant as disgusting appetite, had grossly insulted the son of his Sultan-Vizier Abbas. Abbas, who had shown himself not particularly chary of human life—having obtained his high office by the murder of his predecessor, the father of one of his own wives—caused the royal offender to be assassinated. Then, accusing the dead Caliph's three brothers of his own act, he procured their judicial murder, whilst he proclaimed an infant heir Caliph. But a harem domestic had been a secret witness to the sinful retribution of sin; he revealed the truth, and the people rose against the Sultan-Vizier. Abbas flung large sums from his palace windows amidst his assailants; and whilst they were fighting for the booty, with his son Nasireddin, and the bulk of his treasure, effected his escape by a back door. Escorted by his own guards he fled, making for Palestine. When they reached

the territories of his Christian ally, Abbas deemed himself safe; and so he might have been had he thrown the whole of his hoards amongst the Cairo rabble. But the sight of the wealth he had brought away proved irresistible to the party of Templars resident near the frontier. They attacked the little band, overpowered it, seized the tempting prize, and massacred all its defenders except Nasireddin, who saved his life by professing a desire to be instructed in Christianity. Him they took home with them as a prisoner, and their chaplain expounded the Gospel to him. He declared himself a convert, but had devoted to the investigation more time than he had to spare. He was only preparing to receive baptism, when the triumphant and still vindictive Egyptian rivals of his father offered 6000 gold pieces for the person of the son. Again the temptation proved irresistible. The Templars accepted the money and delivered up their neophyte to his enemies, to be dragged back to Cairo, and there tortured to death for a deed not his. All that the advocates of the Templars can allege in extenuation of the undisputed fact, is, that Nasireddin merely pretended conversion to avoid death, wherefore they delivered him up as a hypocritical blasphemer.

It should seem as if these nefarious double gains of the Templars had excited the cupidity of Baldwin, beyond the power of respect for his plighted word to control. Although he had, in December, 1156, concluded a truce with Noureddin—a truce for a definite number of years was the nearest approach to a peace that bigotry on either side could endure—in January, 1157, he perfidiously surprised some nomade Turcomans, who, in reliance upon the truce, were depasturing their numerous herds of horses and kine in the neighbourhood of the frontier fortress, Paneas; slaughtered the owners, and carried off the cattle. Noureddin, irritated by this treacherous robbery, renewed the war.

It was waged with fluctuating success, but upon the whole to the disadvantage of the Christians; and Baldwin had little cause to rejoice in having provoked it. The petty Moslem states, alarmed by his threatening movements, sought security in voluntary submission to Nou-

reddin's sovereignty: whence the consolidation of his power, which had hitherto appeared to divert his attention from his grand object, was so far consummated as to allow of his seriously beginning his Holy War. The capture of Paneas, as the strongest eastern bulwark of the kingdom, he judged the first step towards the expulsion of the Franks; and to this fortress he laid siege.

Paneas was held in fief by the Constable de Thoron, who applied to the Templars for reinforcements. According to their new custom they bargained for payment of those services, which their vow bound them to render gratuitously; and Thoron was obliged to promise them half his town. It is difficult to regret that the corps, sent to earn this reward, fell into a Saracen ambuscade on its road, and suffered so severely as to be reduced to an utterly insignificant aid. The town was burnt, and the castle, defended by the Constable and his son, was at the last gasp, when Baldwin came to its relief, in such force that Noureddin raised the siege at his approach. But if foiled in this attempt, the Atabeg was neither defeated nor disheartened; and he prepared an ambuscade, into which Baldwin, returning towards Jerusalem with the carelessness inspired by success, fell in his turn; and despite the prowess which the Syro-Franks, however degenerate, still boasted, was completely defeated. He himself hardly escaped by flight; numbers were slain, and Bertrand de Blanquefort, Grand-Master of the Templars, with eighty of his knights, and some of the principal Palestine Barons were taken. Again Noureddin besieged Paneas, and again it was reduced to the last extremity, when again Baldwin, now cordially assisted by the Prince of Antioch, relieved it.

During this operation he was joined by his half-sister's elderly consort, the Earl of Flanders, who now visited the Holy Land upon his third crusading pilgrimage. His appearance, coincident with a severe illness of Noureddin's giving rise to a report of his death, cheered the spirits of all; and it was resolved to besiege Cæsarea, which the Atabeg had lately conquered from the principality of Antioch. The Mohammedans, already contending for the heritage of their dead or dying hero, had no leisure

to attempt raising the siege; and Cæsarea was nearly taken, when, again to baffle the besieger's hopes, the fable of selling the skin of the live lion, was enacted. The Earl of Flanders, still hankering after Asiatic dominions, demanded Cæsarea for himself, to be held of the Crown of Jerusalem. Renaud insisted that a fief, which had always belonged to Antioch, could be held only of that principality; but the Earl would not condescend to be *the man* of any one less than a king, and thought foul scorn to be asked to do homage to a person by birth so much his inferior, as the matrimonially exalted Chatillon. The consequence of these dissentions was that Cæsarea still held out, when Noureddin, recovering, marched to relieve it; and to raise the siege became unavoidable. The following year, 1158, Cæsarea was retaken by the Christians, and restored to Antioch; and this, with the capture of another fort, and a victory, barren of fruit, over Noureddin himself, formed the sum total of Syro-Frank success.

In 1159, hostilities were interrupted by an alarm in which, strange to say, Baldwin and Noureddin for a moment sympathized. The Emperor Manuel was reported to be leading an army through Asia Minor; and, whilst the Moslem dreaded an overwhelming union of the Constantinopolitan with the Syro-Frank forces, the King of Jerusalem, though married to a niece of Manuel's, feared the strenuous assertion, by the strong hand, of the Eastern Empire's pretension to sovereignty over Oriental Christendom. But Manuel was not just then at leisure either to protect Jerusalem, or to claim its sovereignty. His business was with vassals who had acknowledged themselves such, or had done so till very lately. A few words will explain the matter.

Those conquests of the first Crusade in Asia Minor, which had been freely ceded to the Greek Empire, had been formed into the government of Cilicia, of which an Armenian, royally descended, whether of the reigning, or of a deposed race in his native country, was named Governor. Favoured by the mountainous nature of the country, its remoteness from Constantinople, the variety of interests distracting that Court, the Governor and his sons speedily transformed themselves from Imperial

Officers into hereditary vassal Princes. A change which, since they acknowledged the Imperial sovereignty, was connived at, as, under the circumstances, perhaps irremediable.(97) But, emboldened by such connivance, the then reigning Prince, Toros, grandson of the first Governor, renounced his vassalage, and proclaimed himself King of Lesser Armenia, which name he gave his realm in honour of his own Armenian descent. This was overstepping Manuel's powers of toleration; and, being personally engaged with more important concerns, he sent his cousin, Andronicus, then in recovered favour after his flight to Halitsch, with an army to put down this revolt. Rashness and unsteadiness more than counterbalanced the talents and courage of Andronicus: he was defeated by Toros, and Manuel called upon the Prince of Antioch, as his vassal, to quell the revolt of his neighbour—the frontier of Lesser Armenia was barely twenty miles from Antioch.

Renaud, in whose character the knight-errant and the as yet unknown *condottiere* were blended, was ever ready to make war on any one, provided he saw a prospect of advantage to himself. He bargained for money to defray his expenses, and for possession of the vassal state to be conquered; undertook the adventure, and defeated Toros, expelling him from his usurped kingdom. But, whether purposely or accidentally, his recognition as Prince of Lesser Armenia, or Cilicia, by the Constantinopolitan government, did not immediately follow upon its conquest; and even of the pecuniary condition the fulfilment was delayed. For this annoying delay, Chatillon, who was always in want of money, took it upon himself to obtain compensation, together with revenge for the Emperor's default. He equipped a fleet, put to sea, and without any sort of warning attacked the Greek island of Cyprus, then committed to the government of a nephew of Manuel's. The surprise rendered success easy and complete. He carried off the Greek Prince as his prisoner; he ravaged the whole island, plundered high and low, clergy and laity; churches and cloisters, as recklessly as palaces and private houses. He practised the most abominable cruelties to extort money, and abandoned

Heaven-consecrated virgins to the outrages of his piratical followers.

It was to chastise the Prince of Antioch, and to recover his authority over Lesser Armenia, where, since the departure of his conqueror for Cyprus, Toros again reigned independently, that Manuel now visited Asia at the head of an army. In both objects he succeeded. Toros at his approach fled to the mountain fastnesses, and he resumed full possession of the province. The Prince of Antioch durst not confront the Imperial power; but, accompanied by the Bishop of Laodicea, and attended by Antioch vassals and knights, hastened to meet the Emperor at Mamistra, and implore his pardon. Barefoot and bare-headed, in woollen garments, the sleeves of which reached only to the elbow, with every one a rope about his neck, and a naked sword depending from that round Renaud's —much as the vanquished Milanese presented themselves to Frederic—did the reigning Prince of Antioch and his company of nobles traverse the streets of Mamistra to the palace. There they were long kept waiting; and, when at length admitted to the Imperial presence, in the face of the assembled troops, they all knelt at the foot of the throne; the Prince offering his sword, which he held by the point, to the Emperor, and, thus humbly awaiting his pleasure; he was forgiven.

Baldwin had been considerably alarmed by the appearance of the Eastern Emperor in arms, advancing towards the Syro-Frank States. But, how mistrustful soever of Manuel's designs, he thought it best to display confidence, and was the next to arrive at Mamistra. He came, was received as a king and a nephew; and prevailed upon the Emperor to pardon Toros, as ever a valuable ally to Jerusalem, restoring him Armenia in vassalage. In company with both these Princes, he then attended the Emperor to Antioch, where the Imperial sovereignty was asserted by the exercise of all its rights; and where Renaud's homage and oath of allegiance for his wife's principality were received. The character of sovereign was not, however, the only one in which Manuel exhibited himself at Antioch. Baldwin chanced one day, whilst hunting with him, to be thrown by his horse, and

break his arm. The Emperor instantly alighted, with his own hands set and bandaged the fractured limb, according to the surgical skill of the day, and undertook the entire care of his royal patient, until the cure was complete.

But from Antioch affairs of the Empire, superior in importance to those of Syria, imperatively recalled Manuel to Constantinople. Instead, therefore, of overwhelming Noureddin with the combined armies of the Empire and of the Syro-Franks, as the Atabeg had anticipated, he concluded a truce with him, the main condition of which was the release of prisoners. By this convention, Blanquefort and his eighty knights regained their liberty without breach of their rules.

This treaty appears to have been held little binding even upon the vassals of the Emperor: for not only is Baldwin, who might esteem himself a free agent, found immediately afterwards engaged in hostilities with Noureddin as before; but Renaud, just received as a vassal, is marauding, as though no truce existed, upon the Atabeg's territories. In one of his expeditions of this nature, Renaud was made prisoner by the Turks, and Antioch left to the mismanagement of Constance. Baldwin hereupon interfered, whether as head of her family—her mother, it will be recollected, was Melisenda's younger sister—or as sovereign, is not clear; deprived her of the authority she knew not how to wield, and committed the regency, during the captivity of her husband, and the minority of her son by her first marriage, to the Patriarch. The next year, Manuel having lost his German Empress, sent an embassy to Syria to choose him a bride amongst Baldwin's cousins, the youthful Princesses of Antioch and of Tripoli. Their choice fell upon the beautiful Melusina of Tripoli, whom her brother, in the pride of his heart, equipped as might beseem an Empress, and she embarked for Constantinople. But either violent sea-sickness or an alarming illness forced her to re-land, and the envoys waited awhile patiently for her recovery, but relapse followed relapse, and Melusina lost her beauty. Then, fearing that their choice could not now be satisfactory to the Emperor, and irritated by the arrogance in

which the Earl, as brother-in-law to the Emperor, indulged, they abruptly declared the engagement cancelled by the lady's want of health, and repaired to Antioch, whence they carried off the Princess Maria as their Empress. The Earl of Tripoli, resenting the slight put upon his sister, sought vengeance in piratical inroads upon the territories of the Eastern Empire.

In the year 1162, at the early age of 33, died Baldwin III, poisoned, according to the best Palestine authorities, by the Arab physician of the Earl of Tripoli, at whose instigation is not stated, the deed being apparently ascribed to bigotry; meaning, the desire to free the Mohammedans from a dangerous enemy. Baldwin's merits were of the kind that insure popularity, and he was deeply regretted by his subjects, whilst his enemies paid a tribute to his memory. Noureddin, being urged to invade Palestine during this moment of confusion and depression, is said to have replied: "We must have compassion on the sorrow of the Christians, for they have lost a King who had not his fellow." A generous forbearance, which surely acquits him of participation in the murder, if murder there were.

The generosity was most chivalrous in the highest sense of the word, for the opportunity was extraordinarily tempting. Baldwin had been preceded to the grave by his mother Melisenda, by whose advice, as before said, he had been mainly guided as soon as he ceased to be jealous of her authority; and, his marriage having proved unfruitful, he was succeeded by his brother Amalric, who, possessing few of his good qualities, but all his faults exaggerated, with the addition of avarice, was as much disliked as the deceased King had been beloved. Indeed, such was the aversion felt for Amalric that, at one moment, his accession was likely to excite a rebellion: a calamity that was averted by the earnest remonstrances of the aged Grand-Master of the Hospital, Raymond du Puy, who represented to the malcontent Barons that a civil war must perforce throw the kingdom into Noureddin's hands, and they would all be deemed disciples of Judas. To this fear they yielded, and Amalric was crowned.

Hostilities with the Atabeg—Noureddin never assumed a higher title, although disclaiming any subjection to the Seljuk Sultan of Persia, he now acknowledged no sovereign save the orthodox Bagdad Caliph—ere long proceeded as before. The Atabeg now took Paneas, of which Amalric's parsimony prevented the active relief; but was soon afterwards defeated by a body of European Crusaders and Templars, when he himself escaped with some difficulty. Amalric neglected to profit by this opportunity, and Noureddin, at the head of a fresh army, defeated the Christians in his turn, making Bohemund III of Antioch, who was now of age, Raymond Earl of Tripoli, and Toros of Lesser Armenia, his prisoners. In all this Amalric took little share, but he endeavoured to prove his energy by putting to death not only the Governor of a castle that had surrendered to Noureddin, but twelve Templars who had formed part of its garrison. He moreover vehemently urged the Pope to preach a Crusade for his protection, calumniating both the Emperor Manuel and the Syro-Frank great vassals. Wars with, or in Egypt, were the chief business of Amalric's reign; but ere proceeding to them, or the circumstances in which they originated, it may be briefly stated that Baldwin's Greek widow, Queen Theodora, early eloped with her profligate kinsman, Andronicus Commenus, whose political crimes are known to the reader. She eloped, not as his wife; for he had just married and deserted Princess Philippa of Antioch, a sister of the young Empress Maria. As his paramour she wandered with him from one Saracen court to another till they settled amongst the Seljuks of Iconium. There Andronicus made himself so inconvenient a neighbour to Constantinople, that Manuel endeavoured to have him kidnapped. He secured only Theodora; but to recover her, Andronicus ventured upon a return to the capital, where, to propitiate the Emperor, he presented himself with a chain about his neck; by which chain, at his earnest entreaty, his relation, Isaac Angelus, a Commenus by his mother, dragged him to the foot of the throne. Manuel again pardoned him, but relegated him to a town upon the Euxine, whither Queen Theodora again accompanied him.

And thence it was that Manuel's daughter summoned him, as has been related, to her aid, against her step-mother.

The degraded state of Egypt, tributary to Jerusalem, and offering in its helplessness a tempting prize to the rapacity of its neighbours, has already been mentioned; and it only remains to explain how the position of the Sultan-Viziers created the opportunity for which they were looking. Murder had, as usual, interrupted the hereditary succession of these ministers. Soon after Amalric's succession, in 1163, the Sultan-Vizier Shawer—an enfranchised slave of the deceased Sultan-Vizier Razik, who had obtained his former master's office by the assassination of that master's son and heir Sultan-Vizier Adel—was violently despoiled of his post, though not of his life, by another enfranchised slave, named Dargam. The usurper followed up this unexpected symptom of humanity, by inviting seventy of the principal Egyptian Emirs to a banquet, at which he had them massacred. The new Sultan-Vizier was now uncontrolled master of Egypt and of the Caliph Adhed; and he might perhaps have continued so to be, had he neither spared his predecessor's life, nor when slaughtering Emirs, rested content with such half measures, but fairly extinguished the title in Egypt.

Whilst the surviving Emirs were meditating retaliation, Shawer had fled to Noureddin's court, there to seek safety and vengeance. He offered the Atabeg, as the guerdon of his own reinstalment in his post, one third of the revenues of Egypt. Money was no temptation to Noureddin, yet was the offer irresistible. He saw, in the possession of a controlling power over the rulers of Egypt, prodigious additional facilities for the conquest of Palestine, which would thus be open to his attacks from the South as well as from the East; and he likewise saw in it a hope of recalling the Sheah country to the orthodox faith. In this view the Caliph of Bagdad, to whom the proposal was communicated, eagerly concurred. A compact was therefore quickly made with Shawer, and an armament equipped to escort him back and expel his triumphant rival.

Whilst Noureddin was deliberating and preparing, Amalric, allured by the prospect of possible conquest, and

almost certain booty in a country so situated, put forward a claim to a large sum of money, as arrears of the tribute promised his deceased brother, and as he affirmed unpaid. Dargam denied that any arrears were owing; and Amalric invaded Egypt. The Sultan-Vizier was of course coldly supported by the Emirs, who detested him; and the invaders reched Belbeis, the ancient Pelusium, unopposed: there Dargam met him, gave battle, and was defeated. Amalric then besieged Belbeis, which he thought himself upon the point of taking; when Dargam, by cutting down dykes and embankments, inundated that part of the country and fairly flooded him out of his camp.(98) Amalric returned disappointed to Palestine.

This was but the prologue to the piece, during the performance of which, Noureddin's army had been in course of preparation; and being now ready, was placed under the command of his best general, Shirkuh. But as this expedition produced the first ascertained public appearance of one, among the most remarkable characters of the epoch, who will for some time occupy the scene, a few words concerning his origin may as well precede the narrative of the campaign.

Nojmeddin Eyub, a Kurd of the highest family, had, with his brother Asadeddin Shirkuh and a body of their followers, some years back entered, the service of the Seljuk Sultan of Bagdad, who rewarded their prowess with the Government of Takrit upon the Tigris, where, in the year 1137, Eyub's son, Yussuf or Joseph, better known as Saladin, was born. During the civil wars caused by disputed successions amongst the Seljuk princes, the Kurd brothers had occasion to confer a signal benefit upon the Atabeg Zenghi. Defeated, wounded, and a fugitive, he came to Takrit, when they dressed his hurts and lent him boats to carry himself and his people across the river, thus enabling them to escape pursuit. In return, when, Shirkuh having in a fit or passion stabbed a Cadi, the whole family was obliged to fly, Zenghi, then a potent prince, received them into his dominions and confidence, immediately appointing the two brothers to the government of his most important towns. In all affairs requiring prudence or valour they were thenceforward confidentially employed

by him, and subsequently by Noureddin. Once only was this high favour endangered. When the report of Noureddin's death awoke, as before mentioned, all subaltern Moslem ambitions, Shirkuh is believed to have meditated possessing himself of Damascus; but the prudence of Eyub prevented any precipitate step, and the Atabeg either did not hear of the project, or chose to appear ignorant of it. At the moment when Shawer's proposals were accepted, Shirkuh was employed in conquering some Christian districts east of the Jordan; whence Noureddin recalled him, to lead his army into Egypt; and upon this occasion Shirkuh desired to be accompanied by his nephew Saladin. The young man, who is described as delicately beautiful in person, prone to blushing and tears, was then leading a very retired life, in his father's house. In his adolescence he had been addicted to sensual pleasures, even to hard drinking with his uncle Shirkuh; whose Mohammedanism failed before the wine-cup, and whose military merits are proved, by the austere Noureddin's closing his eyes to such a transgression of the laws of Islam. But, when the family became resident at the court of Noureddin, if the uncle were incurable, the nephew seems to have been impressed with such profound reverence for the ascetic virtues of his Prince, that he at once renounced all vicious habits, all enervating indulgences, and became truly, not hypocritically—his whole subsequent career refutes such a suspicion—devout and abstemious, dedicating himself to study. This philosophic or pious seclusion he refused to leave at Shirkuh's invitation; but Eyub, aware, it may be presumed, of his great abilities, was determined to force him into active public life; and, in obedience to his father's commands, Saladin accompanied his uncle.[99]

The object of the expedition was easily accomplished: although, whether Shirkuh defeated Dargam, or Dargam Shirkuh, the reader may be surprised to learn, is a question upon which Moslem historians differ amongst themselves. It seems, at the first blush, one that the course of events *must* answer, but it was not to victory that Shirkuh's success was due. Dargam was assassinated; perchance by a son or brother of one of the massacred Emirs;

and Shawer—whether victorious or defeated, and whether he had or had not instigated the murder, which again is matter of dispute—profited by the crime. He forthwith recovered his post.

This reinstalment of the Sultan-Vizier took place A.D. 1163; but the auxiliary army did not withdraw upon accomplishing its task. Shirkuh alleged that Shawer intended to defraud both the Atabeg and the troops of their promised reward, and swore he would not stir without it. Shawer, on the other hand, accused Shirkuh of meditating the conquest of Egypt; and both parties are likely enough to have been in the right in their suspicions. There is little reason to suppose Shawer particularly honest; and, without accusing Noureddin of having actually given instructions for the occupation of Egypt, Shirkuh, in addition to the glory and the private gain he would anticipate from such a conquest, must have known how much the acquisition of this realm would promote his master's views, as well patriotic as religious.

Upon the ground of distrusting Noureddin and Shirkuh, the Sultan-Vizier now applied to the recent invader of Egypt, the King of Jerusalem, to protect both him and the Caliph against the ally to whom he owed the recovery of his vizierate, offering liberal remuneration for the succours he solicited. The request was most welcome; the Syro-Franks fully appreciating the danger with which the addition of Egypt to Noureddin's dominions was fraught to them; inclosed as Palestine would then be within a crescent, resting upon the sea at its southern extremity and nearly so at its northern, with Egypt menacing the whole line of coast. The rapacious Amalric chose, nevertheless, to be well paid for serving his own interest, and Shawer, ever lavish in promises, agreed to his terms. The King now entered Egypt at the head of his army; but he distrusted the Sultan-Vizier's word, and required, before he would strike a blow, that the Caliph himself should ratify the treaty. This was an awkward demand; inasmuch as the intense veneration due to the descendant of the Prophet, which prohibited the disturbance of his repose by any kind of worldly business, was the very foundation upon which the absolute power

of the Sultan-Vizier rested. But fear of Noureddin and Shirkuh was just then predominant; Shawer engaged that the Caliph should comply with the King's demand, and the Syro-Frank historian of the Crusades and of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, subsequently Archbishop of Tyre, and related, it is said, but not how, to the royal family, has described the scene from the very lips of the chief Christian actor.

Amalric, whether from difficulties as to *etiquette*, or from fears for his safety should he trust himself in the Caliph's palace, did not, as might be expected, visit in person the potentate he came to protect, and would not in person receive the solemn personal pledge he required. He deputed Hugh Baron of Cæsarea as his representative, to perform that office; and the Baron, as he told the historian, was conducted through a seemingly endless display of the pomp and wealth of the palace—he saw a pearl equal in size to a pigeon's egg and an emerald a palm and a half long—and of its strength—passing through a formidable array of the Nubian and Saracenic guards. At the further end of the hall of audience, when he entered it, hung a curtain, thickly wrought with gold and pearls; it was drawn aside, and discovered the Caliph Adhed reclining upon a splendid throne, half encircled by his household officers. When, amidst the prostrations of his introducers, the bold warrior stated the demand of the King of Jerusalem, that the Caliph should ratify the treaty by striking hands, a cry of horror, at the idea of such profanation of the sacred person of the Prophet's descendant and representative, burst from the attendants. Adhed had, however, been assured that only Amalric could save him from Noureddin, that Amalric *must* therefore be satisfied; and with a smiling countenance he offered the Christian his hand. But the hand was covered; and without touching it, the Lord of Cæsarea said, "In striking a bargain all must be frank and open. The Christians will distrust the Caliph's intentions if he plight his faith with a shrouded hand." The Commander of the Faithful, with a deep sigh, as if despoiling himself of his high dignity, removed the covering, placed his bare hand in the hand of the Christian Noble, and took the oath he dictated.

The Caliph's submission to the pressure of necessity was repaid, and for two years the designs of Shirkuh, if the Kurd really did then entertain any, were baffled. But it was suspected that, reluctant too early to end a war so pecuniarily profitable, Amalric wilfully missed some opportunities of actually destroying his antagonist. Neither friend nor foe of Shawer had decidedly the advantage, and Alexandria, of which Shirkuh had obtained possession and committed the defence to Saladin, though reduced to extremities by famine, still held out; when the affairs of Palestine imperatively recalling the King, he made overtures, and the three parties negotiated. Amalric and Shirkuh agreed simultaneously to evacuate Egypt, both amply remunerated by the Sultan-Vizier, the one for coming, the other for his departure.

Upon this occasion Amalric discovered a sense of honour and humanity, too rare unfortunately among the Syro-Franks, whether monarchs or subjects, to be omitted. Arab historians relate that when, upon the conclusion of the treaty, Saladin opened the gates of Alexandria, he visited the Christian camp. Friendly intercourse took place, and the King offered him the use of his ships to convey the sick and wounded of the garrison to Acre, with a free passage through Palestine when landed. The offer was thankfully accepted; and Saladin, being himself upon the sick list, embarked with them. To the Governor of Acre, however, a batch of enemies, whom a simple breach of faith would make his prisoners, was a prize irresistibly tempting, and, as prisoners, he detained them; but the King, hearing of their capture, commanded their instantaneous release, and safe escort to their own frontier.

Amalric was not always as observant of his engagements with misbelievers, and of the three parties to the treaty for the evacuation of Egypt, Shawer alone seems to have meant honestly. The wealth and helplessness of the land were actual invitations to the spoiler, and Amalric dreamt of a second kingdom and booty, Shirkuh perhaps of the first for his master, certainly of the last for himself, and perhaps of that only; whilst the Atabeg, less amenable to worldly lures, was urged by the orthodox Commander of the Faithful to extinguish the heretic, Sheah Caliphate.

Amalric was the first to act. He, like Baldwin III, was connected by marriage with Manuel, to wed whose niece he had, at his accession, repudiated his wife, Agnes de Courtenay, daughter of his unfortunate relation, Joselyn, the despoiled Earl of Edessa, upon the usual plea of consanguinity. A true one, but an impediment as well known at the marriage as at its dissolution. To his Imperial uncle, the King now proposed the immediate joint conquest of Egypt; to which Manuel at once agreed, promising the co-operation of a fleet and army. But the attention of the Constantinopolitan Court was divided by the necessity of repulsing inroads of northern tribes, of suppressing rebellions of Danubian provinces: and at the time appointed, the armament was not ready. Amalric, who for some time had been, in imagination, master of half Egypt, was impatient to realize his dream, and yet more so to feel the wealth he had there seen his own; whilst the royal impatience, which needed no spur, was hourly stimulated by Gilbert de Sailly, or de Assalit, the new Grand-Master of the Hospital, a brave, generous, but loosely principled man, who had involved his Order in debt, and hoped to escape censure by satisfying the creditors out of his share of Egyptian plunder, and adding Belbeis, of which he obtained a promise, to the possessions of the offended Order. In vain the Templars, seized with sudden scruples, refused to concur in a breach of faith, which they pronounced disgraceful to a Christian King; to be committed, moreover, in order to embark in an enterprise that, under the circumstances, was most hazardous. Amalric persisted. Without Greek co-operation, without support from the Templars, without a declaration of war, merely alleging that the Sultan-Vizier was intriguing with the enemy of Palestine, Noureddin, he, within three months after signing the convention by which he quitted Egypt well paid, re-entered it as an invader. As usual, it was defenceless, and the Syro Franks overran the land, ravaging plundering, and burning, more like banditti than conquerors designing permanent acquisition. At Belbeis—where, though on the 3d of November it fell, nearly unresisting, men, women, children, babies, are averred to have been massacred[100]—they captured a son and a nephew of Shawer's He immediately offered for

their ransom a sum large enough to tempt the cupidity of Amalric, by whom it would be monopolized:—the Hospitalers appropriating to themselves a far larger portion of the general booty than he thought their due. He demanded more, however, than Shawer offered.

Shawer now made difficulties, and dexterously prolonged the negotiation, in order to give time for the arrival of succours from Damascus, ere hostilities should be resumed, or the Christian army approach Cairo. The arrival of such succours he confidently expected, because the form in which they had been solicited, made it, amongst Mohammedans, disgraceful to refuse or to hesitate. The moment Amalric's invasion was known, Adhed, again driven by desperation to steps cruelly humiliating to the descendant of the Prophet, wrote with his own hand to Noureddin, and inclosing in his letter locks of the hair of all his wives, implored aid for their behoof and in their names. The habitual sanctity of the harem—implied in its very name [101]—to which it is indecorous even to allude in conversation, renders the bringing wives thus forward in extremity an irresistible adjuration. The rigidly orthodox Atabeg felt it so; and now despatched Shirkuh to protect the heretic Caliph.

Shirkuh again desired to be accompanied by the nephew he had found so valuable an assistant; he again refused; and now the paternal authority failed to conquer his resolution. Eyub had recourse to Noureddin; and against even his command, enhanced by a gift of money to equip himself—the want of which had been one of his excuses—Saladin remonstrated. He declared that the whole realm of Egypt would be no compensation for what he had undergone in the last campaign, when defending Alexandria against the Christians, and against a worse enemy—famine. Noureddin insisted, feeling that to associate the ascetic nephew with the often intoxicated uncle was placing some check upon the anti-Moslem propensities that, degrading his otherwise invaluable general, might afford the Sheahs a triumph over the Orthodox. To the Atabeg's repeated, positive commands, Saladin ultimately yielded obedience, but often afterwards remarked: "I went as to my death."

The drama was now the same as before, with the parts

reversed; Shirkuh and Saladin appearing as the protectors of their former adversary, against his former protector. The contest was of shorter duration, Shirkuh not having Amalric's motives for procrastination; and the forces of Jerusalem, singly, being unequal to those of Noureddin and Egypt combined and ably wielded. But let not the reader dream of the hundreds of thousands of modern war. The usual army of Palestine consisted of 1500 horse and 5000 foot, to which Tripoli could add 600 horse and 2000 foot.[102] But whether upon this occasion the Tripolitan forces were present, or, like the Templars, wanting, may be doubted; and, at all events, of course the kingdom could not be denuded of defenders for a foreign expedition. Thus so small was the invading Christian army, that, notwithstanding the acknowledged individual superiority of the Frank warriors, and although Shirkuh's numbers did not exceed some 8000 men.[103] Amalric was so alarmed by the tidings of his having set forth, that, without risking an encounter, he at once evacuated Egypt. Gilbert de Sailly, as the main adviser of an enterprise which had proved as unsuccessful as it was dishonourable and imprudent, was obliged to abdicate his grand-mastership.

Over the transactions of the next four months in Egypt considerable obscurity hangs, but thus much is clear, that Shawer had little cause to rejoice in this rapid success. Shirkuh, loaded with presents, and honoured with an audience of the Caliph, discovered no intention of removing his camp from the environs of Cairo. Before long he accused the Sultan-Vizier of plotting the murder of himself, his nephew, and his Turkish Emirs, at a banquet to which he had invited them. Some Arab writers admit the truth of this accusation, simply as here stated; others add, that Shawer had imparted his design to the Caliph as a politic mode of getting rid of troublesome, if not dangerous, friends, and that the Caliph revealed it to the chief of the intended visitors; whilst others, again, call it a calumny, devised by Shirkuh, and approved by the Caliph, who had long disliked Shawer, or who was then exasperated against him by Shirkuh's disclosure of the Sultan-Vizier's having asked his assistance to dethrone

him, the Caliph, supplying his place by an infant. Whichever of these be the true version of the accusation, the consequent catastrophe is thus related. Upon the plea of the intended murder were based the orders that Shirkuh, when setting forth on a pilgrimage to the not distant tomb of a Soonee Saint, left with Saladin. In pursuance of these orders, when the Sultan-Vizier, ignorant of Shirkuh's absence, visited the camp as usual, Saladin, in company with the chief Emir, advanced respectfully to receive him. They managed to separate him from his train, and then dragging him from his horse, made him a prisoner. His escort took to flight. Shirkuh instantly returning to his camp, reported the seizure and its motive to the spiritual and temporal Sovereign of Egypt, who, in reply, far from expressing any resentment at this treatment of his prime-minister, urgently recommended, if he did not command, his immediate execution. The advice or mandate was welcome to Shirkuh, who, forthwith obeying, sent the Sultan-Vizier's head to the Caliph. Shawer's sons, said to be their father's accomplices, and who were in Adhed's, not Shirkuh's power, disappeared altogether. The end of the business was Shirkuh's appointment as Sultan-Vizier, by a document professing to be drawn up in the most honourable and flattering terms ever employed for such a purpose, and conferring the amplest powers ever held by vizier.

Shirkuh did not enjoy his exaltation more than two months, during which he left all the duties and business of his office to his nephew. At the end of that time, having, thus remote from Noureddin's eye, indulged, ay, revelled, beyond all bounds, in his besetting sin, he died its victim. Upon his death, the Caliph, much to the dissatisfaction of the Egyptian Emirs, transferred the vizierate, with the same extraordinary powers, to Saladin, who had, of course, succeeded to his uncle in the command of the Turkish army. The honours and dignities profusely showered upon him by the Sheah Caliph could not shake the new Sultan-Vizier's steady adherence to the Soonee creed, or the fealty he still professed to Noureddin; who, upon this occasion, gave him the name of Salah-eddin, or Safeguard of the Faith, contracted by Europeans into Saladin.

The evident danger to Palestine, from so prodigious an extension of Noureddin's power as this virtual conversion of a mighty, often hostile, realm, into a subordinate ally, induced a revival of the project of a joint invasion of Egypt by the Greek and Syro-Frank forces: Manuel's own interest in the preservation of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as an outwork of the Eastern Empire, inducing him to overlook Amalric's conduct upon the previous occasion,—his attempt to get Egypt for himself. He even supplied him with money for his preparations; and success was the more confidently anticipated, as the King had auxiliaries in Cairo in the very palace of the Caliph. Egypt had latterly swarmed with Nubians, some brought thither as slaves for sale, others flocking thither as adventurers in search of fortune. By various arts, numbers of them, both slaves and freemen, had risen to power; they formed a large part of the army, they held some of the chief offices of the State, as well as of the Palace and Harem. Saladin had offended the self-importance of these black dignitaries; who thereupon made overtures to his Christian enemies, proposing to fall, 50,000 strong, upon the Sultan-Vizier's rear, when he should be engaged with the invaders. It seems so strange that Shawer, with such an army at his disposal, should have felt the fate of the realm dependent upon Shirkuh's 8000 men, that it is impossible not to believe both that the Negro traitors exaggerated their numbers to give themselves consequence, and that Oriental magniloquence has, in recording it, exaggerated that exaggeration to exalt Saladin, by enhancing the difficulties and perils of his position. However that may be, an intercepted letter from the chief of the sable officials of the Harem to the King of Jerusalem revealed the plot. Saladin ordered the ringleaders to be executed, and the Negroes in general to be expelled the country. They resisted, and the streets of Cairo presented the image of a field of battle. But in the end, Saladin, with his 8000 Turks, Kurds, or Saracens, triumphed, and the Nubians, everywhere defeated, were either slaughtered or driven out of Egypt before their Christian allies were ready to profit by their revolt.

Amalric, upon this occasion, again sought to obtain a

crusade to assist the projected invasion, and despatched the Archbishop of Tyre to excite one. But Alexander III was occupied with the schism, which alone would have sufficed to prevent any European union or concert. Henry II of England and Lewis VII of France were engrossed with their own broils and contests: whilst neither the latter monarch nor the Emperor Frederic had forgotten what they deemed the treachery of the Syro-Franks, in their former crusade. Frederic had, besides, too much upon his hands in his struggle with the Lombards and his support of anti-popes, to have time or thought to spare for distant evils; and in Sicily, the treatment of their dowager Countess by a King of Jerusalem,(104) was angrily remembered; whilst William II was actually at war with one of his proposed allies, Manuel. The embassy failed, and the invasion was left to the Greek Emperor and the King of Jerusalem.

This time, it took place as pre-concerted, but the only result was increased alienation betwixt the invaders. Manuel sent an army; Amalric headed his, and at every move offended the Constantinopolitan general. He idly wasted the efforts of the allied troops; he made no exertion to promote the capture of Damietta, which, by agreement, was, when taken, to belong to the Eastern Empire; and if he did not, as the Greek alleged, accept bribes from Saladin to betray his allies, he certainly neglected their interests and even those of his own kingdom, in his anxiety, by shortening the campaign, to save part of the Greek subsidy, as an addition to his hoards. He retorted the accusations, and the allies, mutually dissatisfied, again evacuated Egypt.

The remainder of Amalric's reign—the last two months excepted—was passed in constant dread of subjugation by Noureddin. Protection he had none to expect; Manuel's anger, at the conduct and issue of the late campaign, overpowering, for the moment, his politic desire to make a statesman's use of the Syro-Franks. And the kingdom of Jerusalem appears to have owed the prolongation of its existence to the reciprocal distrust of Noureddin and Saladin, and the growing, but cautious, ambition of the latter.

CHAPTER XI.

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

AMALRIC—BALDWIN IV—BALDWIN V—SIBYLLA AND GUY.

Death of Noureddin—Of Amalric—Dissensions of Mohammedans—Saladin's concentration of power—Syro-Frank Dissensions—Death of Manuel—Invasion of Palestine—Battle of Tiberias—Loss of Jerusalem. [1169—1187.

WHETHER Saladin did or did not contemplate throwing off his double allegiance to the Atabeg and to the Sheah Caliph, making himself Sultan of Egypt, with no superior but the Soonee Caliph of Bagdad, is another of the moot points of history. Christians, despite their eulogies, lay to his charge both this scheme, and crimes perpetrated to advance it; and Noureddin certainly suspected him of aiming at independent sovereignty. Arab writers appear to narrate facts without investigating motives or causes, and do not even allude to a suspicion of the crimes denounced by Christians. The truth seems to be that Saladin's views were much akin to those of contemporary, European, great vassals; that he thought not, as yet at least, of disowning the Atabeg's sovereignty, but aimed at securing to himself a real irremoveable, uncontrolled, and hereditary viceroyalty. From Adhed he feared no attempt at laying any restraint upon the authority of the acknowledged Sultan-Vizier; but, with respect to him, there might be a conflict in his mind between gratitude and orthodoxy. He was certainly very much gratified by receiving a dress of honour, with the confirmation of his vizierate, from the orthodox Caliph; who, upon the virtual conquest of Egypt, had sent Noureddin two swords, one for Syria, one for Egypt. But to the injunction accompanying the Commander of the Faithful's gifts, though

inforced by the Atabeg, he demurred. The injunction was to substitute the name of the Soonee for that of the Sheah Caliph in public prayers. Not even his somewhat fanatic zeal could prevent Saladin's shrinking from an act of such traitorous ingratitude towards the prince to whom he owed his exaltation, as would be this, his actual deposal. He paved the way, indeed, for obedience, by causing Soonee doctrines to be taught; but still hesitated to act, and remonstrated, until, in the year 1171, Adhed's death ended his difficulties with his scruples. He immediately ordered the Bagdad Caliph to be prayed for in all the Mosques, and was implicitly obeyed; the whole country thus at once abandoning all heretical opinions to become orthodox. Adhed left no children: and without troubling himself about collaterals, Saladin took possession of his harem, thus, in Oriental fashion, stamping himself his successor; and he remained, nominally at least, Sultan-Vizier to the Atabeg Noureddin. Frank authorities so far alter this relation, that they state the change to have been made during a dangerous illness of Adhed's: and that, upon symptoms of recovery appearing, Saladin prevented Egypt's relapsing into the Sheah heresy, by murdering the Caliph and his children. It may be observed in behalf of Saladin's guiltlessness, that these degenerate Princes, hereditarily enervated by voluptuousness, and individually exhausted by excess, had for generations died young, and not unfrequently childless; a fate, which to the Franks seemed too unnatural not to be due to crime. At all events, Adhed was the last Fatemite Caliph, and Egypt ceased to be Sheah.

The extinction of the schismatic Caliphate was likely, but for the unaccountable perverseness of the Templars, to produce another result, alike beneficial and unexpected. In the eyes of the Sheik of the Assassins it seemingly extinguished the Sheah heresy, and with it the fanatic zeal of the branch of the Ismaelites domiciliated in the Lebanon. Immediately upon learning the changes in Egypt, the reigning Old Man of the Mountain, who had been reported to have latterly taken to studying the Bible, sent an embassy to Amalric, to say that he was willing to receive baptism with all his people, in consideration of the remission of an annual payment of 2000

gold pieces, which the Templars levied as a sort of tribute from those of his subjects who dwelt near their castles.[105] Amalric's delight at the prospect of thus transforming a dreaded foe into a friend, and also of the glory with which such a conversion would irradiate his reign, overcame his avarice; and he promised the remission required, even should he be obliged to take the payment to the Templars upon himself. But this arrogant confraternity appears to have treated the offer as an offence to themselves. One of their number, Gaultier de Maisnil, who is described as a violent, one-eyed man, headed a party—whether of knights or merely of Turcopoles seems doubtful—and pursuing the envoys on their return, accompanied as they were by a messenger of Amalric's, surprised and actually murdered them. The King, enraged at a breach of the law of nations, annihilating such bright hopes, ordered the Grand-Master, Eudes de St. Amand, to punish de Maisnil. But Eudes, who is suspected of having authorized, if not ordered the expedition,[106] haughtily answered, that the King had neither jurisdiction over Templars, nor orders to give a Grand-Master; that he had done what he judged proper, had imposed a penance upon the self-willed knight, who had presumed to form, and to act upon an unsanctioned opinion, and had commanded him to make a pilgrimage to Rome, there to abide the Pope's sentence.[107] Amalric, bent upon exculpating himself in the Sheik's eyes, caused de Maisnil to be arrested at Sidon, and thrown into prison; but other affairs diverted his attention, the Templar remained unpunished, and the Old Man of the Mountain with his Assassins, instead of becoming Christians themselves, were more inveterate than before against all who were so. It is to be hoped that the Grand-Master, though grievously suspected, had no complicity in the crime, shielding the criminal merely in maintenance of his Order's privileges; for in other respects he acted up to its old spirit. Being subsequently taken prisoner and an exchange proposed between him and a nephew of Saladin's, then in the hands of the Christians, he refused; because a Templar, who ought to conquer or die, must give only his knife and belt for his ransom, whilst a large sum was demanded for the noble Kurd's.

The tenor of Saladin's policy in his peculiar position, appears now to have been, to avoid all disrespect and positive disobedience to Noureddin, but likewise to guard against such an accession to the Atabeg's power, and such easy communication between his dominions and Egypt, as might enable him to displace his Sultan-Vizier. Keeping these objects in view, it became essential to prevent his conquering Palestine, or even taking either of the two strong southern fortresses,—Karak, Kerek or Krac, as it is variously written, a fief of the Constable de Thoron's and Montroyal, called by the Arabs, Shaubek,—both of which commanded the direct road from Damascus to Cairo. He was also very anxious to have his father and his whole family out of Noureddin's reach, and in Egypt. The last wish had but to be named, Noureddin not having apparently contemplated their detention as hostages. With respect to the preventing such an increase of the Atabeg's power, as might, he was apprehensive, prove threatening to his own actual position, Saladin managed, by representing the difficulties which beset his task of changing the religion of the country, to keep such entire command of the mode of his co-operation in Noureddin's campaigns, that, although he never disobeyed his sovereign's call, Palestine remained unconquered, Kerek and Shaubek untaken, and his own expeditions were productive of nothing but booty. Noureddin during this time is said to have first established a post, if it may be so called, by carrier pigeons, to facilitate his intercourse with his formidable Lieutenant.

Gradually, however, the Atabeg began to see through the Sultan-Vizier's manœuvres; and by the year 1173, having grown thoroughly dissatisfied with his imperfect obedience, he prepared to chastise it. He collected an army for the purpose; and in order, by conciliating the Christians, to prevent hostilities on their part during his absence in Egypt, he permitted the Earl of Tripoli and some captives of inferior note to ransom themselves.—Bohemund of Antioch he had previously released as a compliment to that Prince's brother-in-law, Manuel, when he sought to avert the Emperor's enmity. The necessary preparations were completed in the month of May, and Noureddin was about to march for

Cairo, when, upon the 22d of the month, at the age of fifty-seven, after a short illness, most opportunely for Saladin, and yet—strange to say!—without a suspicion of poison, he died.

Amalric, less generous than Noureddin on a correspondent occasion had shown himself, thought to take advantage of the consternation and dejection consequent upon the untimely loss of so able, so upright, and so revered a sovereign, to recover Paneas. But his hopes were disappointed; a sum of money from the Moslem Governor of the place, and the release of a few Christian prisoners kept there, were the whole fruit of his enterprise. Upon his return to Jerusalem he was taken ill, and, surviving Noureddin less than two months, he died July 11, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Amalric left three children, two by his first wife, Agnes de Courtenay; the eldest, a daughter, Sibylla, and a son, Baldwin IV, then only 13 years old; and by his second marriage with the Greek Princess Maria, a daughter named Isabel. Baldwin IV was a fine boy, endowed with excellent abilities, trained in all knightly exercises, and instructed, under the superintendence of the Chancellor, afterwards Archbishop of Tyre, already mentioned as the celebrated historian of Jerusalem, in all the learning of the age. But he was early threatened with a disease that rendered his good qualities of no avail, even whilst it perhaps promoted their early development; to wit, leprosy. As yet, however, Baldwin IV was a minor, and a regency was by law necessary. For this office, the Earl of Tripoli, and the Seneschal, Milo de Plancy, contended; as did the boy-King for the full authority, the exercise of which he was willing to leave to his father's favourite, de Plancy. The murder of the Seneschal decided the contest in the Earl's favour; but so universally had the victim been hated that no one dreamt of imputing his assassination to political motives, or to aught save private enmity.

Noureddin, like Amalric, had left a minor heir, a son named Malek-as-Saleh-Ismael, who was at once acknowledged throughout his father's dominions, Egypt included, as his successor. The Emir Mokaddem assumed the government in the name of the ten-year old Atabeg; but

his administration quickly excited general dissatisfaction. Rivals arose amongst the Emirs. Saifeddin, a nephew of Noureddin's, and under him Emir of Mousul, made himself master of the whole of Mesopotamia, which Mokaddem was unable to recover. The want of a stronger hand was felt; and the Emirs invited Saladin to undertake the regency; whilst an ambitious Chamberlain, named Gemushteghin, carried off the little Atabeg to Aleppo, where he hoped to engross his favour and confidence.

Saladin had been occupied, during these disorders, in quelling an insurrection in Upper Egypt, and in repulsing a maritime attack upon Lower Egypt by the Sicilian forces. He had succeeded in both; and, being now at liberty, promptly accepted the invitation of the Emirs. Damascus joyfully welcomed him; Noureddin's widow gave him her hand, and he declared himself the vicegerent of Malek-as-Saleh-Ismael, the guardian of the rights of his benefactor's son. Gemushteghin, nevertheless, persevered in his course; affecting apprehensions for the safety of his ward, he closed the gates of Aleppo in Saladin's face, and applied to the Regent of Palestine for assistance against the dreaded usurper. The Earl sent him a corps of auxiliaries; but they were few in number, and the Kingdom was evidently so unable to afford the self-elected Guardian-Chamberlain efficient support, that he transferred his application to the Sheik of the Assassins, who gladly despatched three of his disciples against the destroyer of the Sheah Caliphate. The devoted emissaries made their way into Saladin's tent and wounded him. But he defended himself stoutly, his guards rushed in, and his assailants were seized and executed.

A course more contrary to the interests of the young heir than Gemushteghin's could hardly have been devised. Saladin, who, for aught that appears, had, when he assumed the regency, meant fairly by him, at least in all save Egypt, and whose marriage with the princely boy's mother must have strengthened his loyalty, was deeply offended. A repetition of conduct so contrary to Noureddin's policy, so absurdly hostile as well as, including the attempt at assassination, unprincipled, further exasperated him; and he now abjured his subjection. He dropped the addition of

Vizier to the title of Sultan, substituted, in the public prayers, throughout his own dominions, his own name for that of Malek-as-Saleh-Ismael, and demanded of the young Atabeg the cession of Damascus, which, in point of fact, was already his. The demand was refused, and the contest continued a while longer. Saladin now signed a convention with the Earl of Tripoli, who pledged himself, on condition of the Sultan's releasing the hostages given for the payment of what was still due to Noureddin of Raymond's own and his friend's ransom, not to interfere in his wars with Noureddin's family. Saladin next defeated Saifeddin; then, leaving the hostile kindred of the great Atabeg to destroy each other in striving for his heritage, he led an army into the territories of the Assassins. There he presently forced the Sheik to sue for peace; which, fearing it is said to rouse the enmity of the whole confederation of Ismaelites, he granted him on fair terms, and was thenceforward unassailed by his daggers. He then placed his brother, Shamseddin Turanshah, as his Lieutenant at Damascus, and taking with him a daughter of Noureddin's—as naturally accompanying her mother or step-mother, it may be presumed—returned to Egypt. In commemoration of this triumphant expedition, he founded a hospital at Cairo, which, with all its requirements of physicians, drugs, attendants, &c., is said to be the first ever known there.[108]

Whilst the Mohammedans were thus divided, the kingdom of Jerusalem had been in no condition to profit by their divisions. The constantly increasing leprosy of the young King, yet more than his minority, unfitted him for action. Earl Raymond, irritated by the opposition he at every move encountered from the partisans of his dead rival, displayed little energy in his government, and the Barons looked to Europe for help. Of a crusade they had learned there was for the moment no hope; but Baldwin's very malady, which almost precluded the idea of his marrying, gave them, they conceived, in the person of his eldest sister and presumptive heiress, Sibylla, a bait, with which to allure some prince capable both of ruling and defending the Holy Land, and of interesting others in its behalf.

The first, upon whom with such views, they turned their

eyes, was William, eldest son of the Marquess of Montferrat, for his knightly prowess, surnamed Longsword, whose near relationship to the Emperor and the King of France, rendered him peculiarly eligible. To him they proposed the hand of the Princess, with Joppa and Ascalon for her portion. Eagerly accepting, Marquess William hastened to the Holy Land, was approved by the Regent, and in 1176 was married to Sibylla. The bridegroom, whose character seems to have been more German than Italian, if he commanded the esteem of his brother-in-law's subjects by his valour and frank honesty, disgusted them by his intemperance and violence; and what the results of the connexion might prove, seemed questionable. But speculation was cut short; his virtues and his vices alike being rendered immaterial to the kingdom, by his death within the year. He left the widowed Princess in a condition that promised an heir.

But an unborn babe was not the heir Palestine wanted, for her protection against a formidable neighbour; and the Barons looked around for a second husband for Sibylla. Philip Earl of Flanders, son and successor to the indefatigable old Crusader, Earl Theodore, had just then, in expiation of divers sins, led a band of gallant warriors to the Holy Land, as crusading pilgrims. Upon him all eyes were bent, and at first he won the confidence of his cousin Baldwin; who was now about seventeen, and had latterly begun to interfere much with public business; thus gradually to assume the government and terminate Earl Raymond's regency. But Philip soon forfeited the good opinion of all, proving as artful and impenetrable as William Longsword had been the reverse. He refused to take part, or even advise, in anything, yet was offended when his counsels were dispensed with; refused every command offered him, yet resented the appointment of another to the post he had rejected. At length it appeared that for himself the powerful Earl disdained Baldwin IV's precarious crown, but desired to obtain the hands of both the King's sisters, for the two sons of a great Flemish noble, who had engaged in return to surrender his Flemish fiefs to him. In this scheme he failed; but his manœuvres perplexing and baffling all measures, prevented another

combined attack upon Egypt projected by Manuel; nor was this the only mischievous result of his presence in the Holy Land. By joining Bohemund of Antioch and Raymond of Tripoli in an unsuccessful attempt upon Aleppo, he assisted them to provoke a retaliatory invasion of Palestine from Damascus and Egypt. Baldwin rose from his sick bed to oppose the invaders, and defeated even Saladin's body guard of Mamelukes,([109]) who like other Oriental troops, could not stand the charge of heavily armed knights, to which was habitually due the victory of Europeans over Asiatics. He expelled the Mohammedans, and brought back some booty from the pursuit. The Earl of Flanders participated not in this defence of the Kingdom. He had returned from the foiled attempt upon Aleppo, to perform his Easter devotions at Jerusalem, and then embarked for Europe, leaving behind him a name the reverse of his father's.

Baldwin, disappointed in him, and rendered suspicious of his vassals by his frequent physical inability to execute his own plans, now gave his confidence to another Frank This was Renaud de Chatillon, who knew as well how to worm himself into the favour of an infirm boy-King, as into the love of woman, and his proficiency in this last art he had now for the second time proved. The death of the Princess of Antioch having left him a widower, he had obtained the hand of Stephanie, heiress of Neapolis or Naplouse, and yet wealthier as the widow of two powerful husbands, namely, the younger de Thoron, the Constable's son, and the murdered favourite, the Seneschal de Plancy. Upon the death of Princess Constance, her son having attained his majority, he had lost his power in the state, and the title of Prince of Antioch, but retaining that of Prince, is thenceforward usually called Prince Renaud. He was certainly a brave warrior and had gallantly assisted Baldwin to defeat the late invasion, but, from intense selfishness, seldom appears to have used either royal favour or the power obtained through his wives, otherwise than injuriously, to the common weal. Him, Baldwin now appointed Protector of the kingdom whenever he himself should be incapacitated by illness for the discharge of his royal duties. An unfortunate choice. Next to

Chatillon in Baldwin's confidence ranked his mother and uncle, Agnes and Joscelin de Courtenay; the latter he made Seneschal; the former had materially lowered herself in public opinion by marrying Hugues de Ibelin, immediately upon her divorce, and having lost him, she had just accepted, as her third husband, Reginald Prince of Sidon.

The urgent need to the kingdom of Jerusalem of a powerful government, of a warlike ruler, keenly alive to every opportunity of weakening its Moslem neighbours, was not immediately so apparent as it afterwards became. Noureddin's death, like Zenghi's, necessarily delayed the execution of the grand Moslem project, by again dispersing previously concentrated dominions and power: and Saladin, whilst fully adopting his predecessors' plans, felt that he was in no condition as yet to attempt their grand object, the expulsion of the Franks.

For some years Saladin devoted himself to the task of preparation for this achievement; and whilst he was so engaged, a truce with Baldwin suspended hostilities, save when broken by the marauding disposition Prince Renaud had already betrayed at Cyprus.([110]) This occurred but too often—that the truce, thus wantonly broken, was most beneficial to the Syro-Franks hardly need be observed—the possession of Kerek, acquired through his second marriage, affording this truly robber-knight unluckily frequent opportunities of surprising and plundering caravans, that in reliance upon the truce, took the direct line of communication between Cairo and Damascus. He seems to have neglected few or none; and, success increasing his audacity, he at last, in 1182, had vessels carried across the desert by camels and launched in the Red Sea; where he embarked with his rapacious followers, besieged a small town on the coast, and threatened the very cradles of Islam, Mecca and Medina. Saladin was then absent, subjugating Mohammedans in Asia; but his brother and vicegerent in Egypt, Malek el Adel, equipped a fleet in time to engage Chatillon, and by defeating him, rescue the Holy places of his faith from pollution. Many of the invaders fell in the action, many were taken: but Chatillon flying with a few others, as fortunate as himself, got back

to Kerek. The prisoners Saladin commanded his brother to sacrifice, some writers say, instead of sheep, before the Kaaba. A strange story, but which cannot be rejected, since resting upon Oriental authority, both Christian and Moslem. Even Saladin's letter containing the order, and explaining the necessity of such unwonted severity to prevent the repetition of such an insult, is given[111] by Reinaud. That Saladin, when he gave such an order, was deeply exasperated against Chatillon is indubitable; but he did not suffer himself to be diverted from his progressive agglomeration of lands and dominions, or hurried in his operations by anger. In the process of thus augmenting his power, he continued, however it might hamper him, scrupulously to respect the possessions of Noureddin's son, until the death of the young Atabeg, at the early age of nineteen, leaving neither son nor brother, freed him from such restraint. The deceased Atabeg's kinsmen, Azzeddin and Emadeddin, contending for his heritage, severally applied to the Christians for help; and Saladin, representing such conduct to the Caliph as showing them unfit to reign, tore from them even their own dominions[112] and made them his tributaries. In the course of the year 1183, he was master of all that had ever been Noureddin's.

During these years the Syro-Frank states, occupied with internal broils, thought not of counter-preparations. Raymond of Tripoli and the Seneschal de Courtenay were battling with each other and with Prince Renaud for the exercise of the Royal authority, during the periods of Baldwin's complete incapacity; and Bohemund of Antioch was at open war with the Church. Upon the death of the Emperor Manuel, this thoroughly worthless Prince had causelessly repudiated his consort, another niece of that sovereign's, to marry a woman whose low birth was rendered more objectionable by her at best doubtful character; and he obstinately resisted the Patriarch's admonitions to take back his lawful wife. The prelate excommunicated him; and he in retaliation attacked the clergy, plundered churches and cloisters, and besieged his reverend monitor, in a castle belonging to the patriarchate. The principality was then laid under an interdict. Baldwin, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the two Grand-Masters, and Bohemund's step-father Renaud, endeavoured to mediate

peace. In vain: Bohemund never performed the condition they had agreed to in his name. The interdict remained in force, and some of his best knights deserted his service for that of the Prince of Armenia; whilst he, absorbed in sensual pleasures, unheeding the dangers of Palestine and consequently of Antioch, never roused himself to action, unless tempted by the hope of some petty addition to his own dominions.

At Jerusalem the marriage of the widowed Sibylla continued for a while to be the principal concern. The Barons, whether with or without the Kings' consent seems doubtful, had commissioned the Archbishops of Tyre and Cæsarea, when attending the Lateran Council, in 1179, to seek her a consort, such as Palestine wanted. The Princess had now given birth to a son and heir; which was felt an insuperable objection by princes who aspired to the crown—the case with those whom they would have preferred. At the suggestion of the Earl of Champagne, however, they opened a negotiation with his nephew, the Duke of Burgundy; but they had nothing to offer for which he would leave or hazard his duchy. Baldwin was offended, as much perhaps at his Barons' presumption in intermeddling with a royal marriage, and offering the hand of his sister and presumptive heiress, whom he deemed well worth the wooing, as at the offer's rejection; and he permitted Sibylla's inclination to select the future ruler of Palestine. Her choice fell upon Guy de Lusignan, a nobleman of Poitou, related, as was said, to the Earls of Poitou, paternal ancestors of Elinor of Aquitaine. Having been deeply implicated in an insurrection, in the course of which the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Lieutenant—if the modern title may be permitted—of Poitou, was slain, he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as much to shun King Henry's resentment as to expiate his offence; and there, by his personal attraction, had captivated the Princess. To him, a mere nobleman, and therefore, in public opinion, an unsuitable consort for the future Queen of Jerusalem, Baldwin gave his sister, with the same portion as before; and, as though to increase the general dissatisfaction, celebrated the marriage in Lent; ([113]) a precipitation so indecorously repugnant to the feelings and customs of the

age, as to have given rise to surmises unfavourable to the reputation of the widowed princess. He soon afterwards gave his half-sister, the eight-year old Isabel, in marriage to Humphrey de Thoron, grandson to the late Constable —who had fallen in one of the frequent marauding expeditions—and step-son to Prince Renaud. These nuptials were celebrated at Kerek, and the whole festive assembly, the little royal bride included, were nearly carried off by a band of Saracens, or more probably Turcomans, through Chatillon's neglect of the most ordinary precautions. The noble company was saved at a heavy cost; by ordering the bridge of communication with the castle to be destroyed during the attack, he sacrificed the town and half his warriors, but rescued the Castle and its occupants.

The weakness, necessarily resulting from internal dissensions, was scarcely counterbalanced by the conversion of the schismatic Maronites of Lebanon to the Latin Church; although something was certainly gained, both in strength and reputation, by their consequent intimate connexion with the kingdom of Jerusalem. But, on the other hand, the death of the Emperor Manuel was a heavy misfortune to the Syro-Frank states: for which he entertained a statesman's value, but which could hope for no support from Constantinople, even had his successors adopted his views, amidst the distractions produced by the contest for the regency that ensued. From their inconceivable supineness, or blindness to imminent danger, the Syro-Franks were first startled by Saladin's return from the subjugation of all Noureddin's eastern territories, to possess himself of Aleppo. They now saw that the storm, hitherto unfeared because its symptoms were unobserved, was at hand. The Patriarch and the two Grand-Masters hastened to Europe again, to urge a Crusade; and Baldwin assembled the nobles and prelates to deliberate upon the measures of defence to be adopted. To all such, money was felt to be indispensable, and in order to advise as to the means of obtaining it, town deputies were admitted into this feudal assembly.([114])

The result of these consultations was the imposition of a property tax, without exemption for nobility or clergy; the details of which, in that age of undeveloped financial

science, are sufficiently curious to be worth recording. A *property* of 100 bezaunts or byzantines, was to pay one per cent.; an *income* of the same amount, two per cent.; smaller properties and incomes, less in due proportion; artizans one half per cent. upon their earnings. Lords of towns and villages were to pay further a bezaunt for every hearth upon their domains, towards which they were allowed to make their vassals, &c., contribute. Four upright and intelligent men were in every town to be appointed to assess the tax; and whoever thought himself overcharged, was to tell these assessors upon oath what would be his fair assessment. The assessors were sworn to secresy. This was not proposed, as it would now be, as an annual tax, but as a single imposition, its produce exclusively appropriated to the defence of the country. To insure this exclusive appropriation, the sums received were to be deposited in chests secured by three locks, the three keys being severally kept by two prelates and the treasurer of the district, and the chests opened only in presence of all three.

Tidings now came that Aleppo was Saladin's, and no longer might time be idly frittered away. Baldwin was proceeding to assemble an army, when, at this critical moment, his leprosy utterly incapacitated him for action. He therefore committed the royal authority to his brother-in-law, Guy, first requiring from him an oath, neither to aspire to the crown till it should be lawfully Sibylla's, nor to alienate any portion of the realm. He reserved to himself 10,000 bezaunts a-year, with the regal title.

The Palestine army was increased by the arrival of the Duke of Brabant and a few other nobles, whom the Patriarch and the Grand-Masters, though disappointed of an European Crusade, headed by a monarch, had induced to lead companies of crusaders to the defence of the Holy Land. With the further reinforcement of mariners from the Venetian, Pisan, and Genoese fleets that had brought these crusaders—for the commercial republics of Italy in some measure compensated the annoyance of their quarrels and their extravagant pretensions, by occasionally affording efficacious assistance—it amounted to 1300 helmets and 15,000 foot At their head Guy marched

in search of Saladin, who was already ravaging the kingdom. But now broke out the hatred, justly or unjustly, borne to Guy, to whom none denied the quality then most valued, courage. Vinisauf, who knew him, says: "He deserved the crown by his royal character and habits, but because simple-minded, and unversed in political intrigue, he was held cheap."([115]) Guy's real fault seems to have been want of firmness in adhering to an opinion or plan; whilst his exaltation above former equals and superiors was the real cause of the ill-will borne him, and now so unpatriotically displayed. When the armies met, the Barons refused to give battle, alleging that Saladin was too superior in numbers, and too strongly posted. The hostile forces consequently remained encamped, confronting each other, till, provisions failing, both withdrew, and Saladin evacuated the kingdom without striking a blow. This, to effect which would now be thought judicious strategy, was then deemed such a cowardly suffering the enemy to escape, that, although not disapproved, seemingly, by the Grand-Master of the Templars, it damaged the reputation of Guy (upon whom it was compulsory) at home and abroad. The very Barons, who had prevented a battle, made Saladin's escape, with his superior numbers, a ground for demanding not only Guy's removal from his high office, but the dissolution of his marriage with the presumptive heiress of the crown.

Baldwin, whether willingly, through a mistrustful temper, or from the weakness of an invalid, assented to their desires. He resumed the royal authority, declared his nephew, Baldwin, Sibylla's son by her first husband, his heir, caused the five-year-old child to be crowned as his colleague, and directed the Patriarch to dissolve the mother's marriage with Guy. The ease with which such proposals of divorce were entertained by Roman Catholics, notwithstanding the indissolubility, in their Church, of marriage, as being a sacrament, may be taken as a measure of the immorality of the *Poulains*, or Syro-Franks, amongst whom the archiepiscopal historian says, that hardly one chaste woman could be found. Nor was the Patriarch Heraclius a man likely to work a reformation. He was an adventurer from Auvergne, who had insinuated himself

first into the favour of the King's mother, through whom he got the bishopric of Cæsarea, and then so completely into the young King's, that when he and the royal preceptor, William, Archbishop of Tyre, were candidates for the patriarchate, to the general amazement, Heraclius carried the day. As Patriarch, he was now living in such open adultery with the pretty wife of a grocer, that she went by the name of the Patriarchess (Patriarchissa), and, as such, was her having given birth to a son once publicly announced to him in the midst of his sacerdotal functions.

Such a Patriarch had no scruples touching the sanctity of wedlock, and a day was fixed for legal proceedings. But Sibylla was faithful to the husband of her choice, and fled with him to Ascalon, one of her dowry-towns, to avoid the compulsory violation of her nuptial vow. Guy not appearing on the appointed day, his fiefs were pronounced forfeited. Joppa was seized, and he was besieged in Ascalon. But, whilst the siege was in progress, the Barons further required the nomination of a Protector of the realm, the coronation of a child affording no relief from the evils caused by the paralysing paroxysms of the King's malady. And now Baldwin, either conquering his long-nourished distrust of the Earl of Tripoli, or dreading his enmity to a preferred rival, selected him for the office. The Earl, who knew himself an object of dislike to the Patriarch, to both Grand-Masters, to Prince Renaud, and many others, refused to accept the post unless invested with unusual powers, and fortified with unusual securities. These were conceded, and he took the protectorate upon himself, the care of the crowned heir's person and education being simultaneously committed to the child's great uncle, the Seneschal. Scarcely were these arrangements completed, when, in March 1185, Baldwin IV died; but the event being thus provided for, the only consequent change was Earl Raymond's being Regent for Baldwin V, instead of Protector under Baldwin IV. His unwonted powers and securities remained as originally given.

The first and almost the only business of Raymond's unquestioned regency was the relief of a famine, under which Palestine, from an extraordinarily continuous drought, and, as some allege, from recent neglect of agriculture([116])

was then suffering. To remedy this he purchased of Saladin, for 60,000 bezaunts, a short truce, with free commercial intercourse. Egypt was untouched by either noxious cause, and the Egyptians gladly sold the contents of their overflowing granaries, together with their flocks and herds, for the high prices yet more gladly paid by the starving Jerusalemites. By the time this relief was effected, the little monarch, Baldwin V, died.

One of the conditions, without which Earl Raymond had refused to undertake the protectorate was, that in case of such death the question of the right of succession—to modern apprehension no question at all—should be referred to the Pope, the German Emperor, and the Kings of France and England, he retaining the protectorate until their decision should be known. But Sibylla, the natural heir of her brother in preference to her deceased baby son, was no party to that compact; and neither she and her husband, nor Raymond's adversaries, designed to abide by it. Those adversaries were powerful and fiercely hostile, the Grand-Master of the Templars, Gerard de Belfort, being personally so, upon a quarrel of his youth. The Earl had prevented his marriage with a beautiful heiress, a vassal of Tripoli. Belfort, upon his disappointment, became a Templar, but never forgave the injury, and seems to have watched for an opportunity to revenge himself. Few characters have been more contradictorily delineated than Earl Raymond's. He has been accused of ambition, of rapacity, of treason, of having, in furtherance of some not very intelligible scheme of usurpation, poisoned his royal ward, whose person was in the Seneschal's custody, not his, and whose life assured the supreme authority to him, as Regent, for many years. But in those days a premature death could scarcely ever be believed natural, and a similar accusation has been laid against the infant King's step-father, nay, even against his mother. By his friends, Raymond is, on the contrary, represented as wise, disinterestedly patriotic, unambitious, and nearly a pattern of perfection. An impartial inquirer of the present day will perhaps pronounce him able, ambitious, and tolerably honest, though not scrupulously so; but arrogant, captious, and of ungovernable temper, offending all who had to deal

with him—Heraclius to such a degree that he also has been accused of poisoning the royal child, merely to get rid of the Earl's regency.

Such being the state of parties, the Seneschal laid his plans for securing the throne to his niece. He duped the Regent into remaining at Tiberias, the property of his Countess, till after the royal funeral; whilst he invited Sibylla, Guy, and their friends, to Jerusalem, to attend it. The obsequies were performed; and then Sibylla, as lawful heiress, called upon the Patriarch to crown her. He was willing, but the regalia were kept, like the produce of the property-tax, under three different locks, the three keys of which were severally intrusted to the Patriarch and the two Grand-Masters; of whom Desmoulins, then Grand-Master of St. John, refused to concur in any breach of the compact with the Earl of Tripoli. Negotiations upon the matter followed, and during the delay thus occasioned the Regent summoned the Baronage and Hierarchy of the kingdom to meet forthwith at Neapolis; whence those who attended sent to Jerusalem a solemn protest against crowning Sibylla. It acted as a spur to the proceedings there. The key was coaxed or wrested from the conscientious Desmoulins. The city gates were closed to prevent the possibility of interruption from the Neapolis assembly, and all parties concerned repaired to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There the receptacle was ceremoniously opened, and two crowns drawn forth, which were deposited upon the altar. With one of them the Patriarch crowned Sibylla; and then, saying: "Your Grace is a woman, and the kingdom has need of a King;" presented to her the other, which she instantly placed on the head of her kneeling husband.

Hoveden gives a more dramatic account of the coronation, amusingly illustrative of Sibylla's conjugal fidelity, that must not be omitted, though it accords not with the value believed to have been set by the Patriarch and the Templar upon Guy's persuadableness, calculated, they hoped, to leave all power substantially in their hands. His story is that the Patriarch, and the two Grand-Masters, had wrung from Sibylla her consent to a divorce, by pledging themselves to accept as King whomsoever she should

afterwards chuse as her husband; and that she outwitted them by thus chusing the divorced Guy, to whom she now gave her hand for the second time, and with it the crown.

When tidings of this decided step reached Neapolis, great was the indignation, and great the confusion. Raymond asserted that it would be easy to dethrone the usurpers, as he termed Sibylla and Guy; alleging that Sibylla, the child of a marriage dissolved as illegal, was illegitimate, though her brother, the son of the same marriage, and even her own child, had been acknowledged as legitimate heirs. Upon this ground, he proposed to proclaim, in their stead, young Isabel and Humphrey de Thoron. The idea was unanimously approved, and the next day appointed for the proclamation. But Humphrey was not born for a ringleader of rebellion; he took fright at the prospect, and, when the hour appointed for the proclamation struck, the intended King was missing. He had made his escape in the night, and hurried to Jerusalem, where he did homage to Guy. His absence foiling the plan, Isabel was not proclaimed.

And now the Barons, hopeless of success, gave way. In vain Raymond urged a reference to the selected arbitrators, and even proposed to seek aid of Saladin. From this last suggestion all revolted; and now leaving him, hastened to do homage to Guy; all, except Baldwin of Ramla, and he permitted his son to accompany the rest. But Guy refused to receive the son's oath of allegiance without the father's; and Baldwin, lest his fiefs should be considered as forfeited by the omission, then attended, and took the oath; but took it in a form marking the temper in which he did so. He said: "King Guy, I swear allegiance to you, as one who desires no land of you;" and neither kissing the King's hand nor doing homage, bade his son do homage and receive investiture. He then withdrew to Antioch, where Bohemund, glad to acquire so distinguished a vassal, granted him lands more considerable than those he had resigned to his son.

The Earl of Tripoli, though deserted, would not submit to his rival. But unable single-handed to resist the whole kingdom, he, when threatened, as a rebel, with a siege,

applied, as he had previously proposed to his partisans, for aid to Saladin, with whom the truce, prolonged by Guy, still subsisted; and received a Saracen garrison into Tiberias. The act naturally shocked his best friends, and lowered his reputation.

The remainder of this year, 1186, and the whole of 1187, were crowded with disasters to the Syro-Franks; a few only need be particularised. The series began from another breach of truce by Prince Renaud, to which he was, as usual, incited by his rapacious temper, and which, ultimately, proved fatal to himself. The mother of Saladin, travelling from one of her son's capitals to the other, and confiding in the armistice, passed near Kerek; when Renaud fell by surprise upon her escort, slaughtered nearly the whole, the aged princess escaping almost alone, and seized her baggage. Before the outrage was publicly known, a caravan of Damascene merchants, following the same route, was in like manner surprised, plundered, and slaughtered or made prisoners. Saladin demanded restitution which Chatillon refused. He offered to exchange for the captives, thus lawlessly seized, a band of pilgrims thrown by shipwreck upon the Egyptian coast; and this exchange, the Robber-Prince, who expected to wring a large ransom from his prisoners, refused. The Sultan then appealed to the King to punish, according to Christian law, these violations of public faith; but Renaud, having again wormed himself into royal favour, his influence over Guy prevented the compliance due to this just requisition. And now Saladin solemnly swore, that should the perfidious truce-breaker ever again fall into his power, he should expiate these outrages with his life, taken by his, the Sultan's own hand. The armistice being ended by these lawless acts, Saladin once more invaded Palestine.

The first calamity consequent upon his idly provoked enmity is said to have been the massacre of the shipwrecked pilgrims. The second befel the two Orders, and is an adventure not easily intelligible to modern ideas. Saladin's son Afdal, desiring to effect a diversion in favour of his father's warlike operations, resolved to make a separate inroad into Palestine, and demanded of the ally who had sought and obtained Moslem support, the Earl

of Tripoli, a free passage through his and through his wife's territories. It was an awkward request; Raymond could not well refuse a free passage, or anything else, to an ally whose troops garrisoned one of his chief towns; but he was unwilling to betray his countrymen. To escape from the horns of the dilemma, he made it the condition of his consent that the inroad should last only a day, and that, content with ravaging and plundering the open country, the Mohammedans should not attack walled town or castle. The condition was agreed to, whence it has been inferred that the sole object of the Turkish Emirs was to indulge the young prince in a frolic, which he took seriously. The Earl instantly made this eccentric verbal agreement public; and the peasantry, with what property they could remove, sought shelter behind walls. He likewise despatched a special messenger to a party whom he knew to be upon their way, as mediators between the King and himself, with a request that, suspending their journey, they would halt wherever they happened to be, until this Moslem inroad should be over. The party in question consisted of the Grand-Master of the Templars, the Archbishop of Tyre, the Prince of Sidon, Sibylla's step-father, and Balian de Ibelin, second husband of her step-mother, Queen Maria, Amalric's Greek widow The last three complied; but the Templar—strange to select as a mediator Raymond's personal enemy!—would not recognise any such anomalous private convention as restrictive of the two Orders' vowed hostility to the Mohammedans. He called upon the neighbouring Hospitalers for a reinforcement, and, at the head of 150 knights, and 500 foot, set forward to surprise, as he hoped, the Saracens, returning in careless confidence with their booty. But Chatillon had taught the lesson of distrust, and indeed Afdal or his Lieutenants appear to have heard of the Grand-Master's disclaimer of the Earl's arrangement, inasmuch as they had provided against its violation. The Templar and his party, as they had proposed, attacked the booty-laden Saracens on their homeward way, who, as surprised, retreated before them. But they thus drew the pursuers into an ambuscade prepared for them, where they were so completely cut to pieces that

only Belfort himself and three knights, saved by the extraordinary fleetness of their horses, survived.

The next calamity was far more serious in character and disastrous in result. Saladin had advanced, ravaging the country, as far as Tiberias; whence the Saracen garrison had been dismissed, upon the reconciliation which the above-mentioned mission, when Afdal's singular incursion was over, had happily effected between the Earl and the King. To this city, the capital of the Countess of Tripoli's domains, the Sultan laid siege, and Guy led as much of the army which he was assembling for the defence of the kingdom, as was then ready, reinforced by a band of crusaders under the Marquess of Montferrat, to its relief. He encamped for the night about a day's march from Tiberias, and a Council of War was held to discuss the operations of the morrow. The circumstances were so far changed, that the town, insufficiently garrisoned, had surrendered, and the Countess with her four sons, the offspring of a first marriage, had taken refuge in the castle, which resolutely held out. Earl Raymond strongly dissuaded any further advance, on account of the great deficiency of water in the intervening district, and, to the heavy-armed Frank cavalry, the extreme difficulty of the road, mountainous, precipitous, and abounding in defiles and gorges, amidst which the light Saracen and Turkish cavalry would, as in the Second Crusade, destroy the exhausted Christians without coming within reach of their weapons. He urged that, under the circumstances, whichever, of Guy or Saladin, were the assailant, must needs be defeated; wherefore it was desirable to remain where they were, abundantly supplied with water and forage, and so invite the attack; whilst their mere proximity would prevent the enemy's attempting to storm the castle of Tiberias; which, should it be compelled to capitulate, would be easily recovered when the main force of the enemy should be gone, and the prisoners, his wife and her children included, yet more easily ransomed. This opinion was violently opposed, but gained weight from its evident disinterestedness, and finally prevailed. Orders were issued accordingly, and the Council broke up. But in the night, the Grand-Master of the Templars, either

burning to revenge his late defeat, or merely wishing to thwart the man he hated, returned singly to the charge, and persuaded Guy, always too amenable to persuasion, that the Earl, in the rankling of old enmity, envying him the glory of a victory over Saladin, had misled him; and further, that should the castle of Tiberias fall whilst he looked idly on, he would be for ever dishonoured. He triumphed; ([117]) and at dawn the army marched in search of the enemy, Raymond leading the van, because upon his own territories.

The Earl's predictions were fully and speedily verified. About half way, the Christians, worn out with many hours of severe toil amidst the delaying difficulties above mentioned, in the heat of July in Syria, and faint from burning thirst, encountered the Moslem army, that, upon their light, active horses, had performed their part of the distance too quickly and too easily for such sufferings. The Sultan did not attack Guy, but he prevented his advance, otherwise than by fighting his way through the hostile ranks, to which the Syro-Franks were at the moment unequal. The King therefore encamped for the night in a locality where water was unattainable.

In the morning of the 5th of July, Guy offered battle; but Saladin, aware that every additional hour of heat and thirst must yet more disable the Christians, fell back before him, drawing him onward and harassing his march. At length the Christians reached the hill of Hittin, whence they beheld beyond the enemy, the fair lake for whose waters they were languishing; and Saladin increased their sufferings, by setting the bushes and dry grass to windward of them on fire. Here, before a blow had been struck, a division of infantry unable to endure this additional evil, unable it should seem, from fatigue and exhaustion, to use their arms in combat or their legs in flight, flung their weapons away and surrendered at discretion.

The Templars and Hospitalers fought gallantly, as usual, whenever opportunity offered, during this disastrous advance. But their horses were jaded, even their own powers were beginning to fail; and they appear to have been in a manner surrounded, at some distance from the rest of the troops, when Saladin judged it time to press upon

the main body of the Christians. Guy, now driven to extremity, ordered the van to charge. and the Earl of Tripoli galloped forward at its head. The hostile ranks opened before him; his enemies say by preconcert, but it is more likely from Saladin's foreseeing the result of such a measure. This result was, that the Earl passed right through the Moslem host, which, closing behind him, cut him off from the Christian army, unless by as boldly and hazardously charging back again. To such self-sacrificing, patriotic heroism, Raymond did not, apparently, feel any impulse. He did not assail the enemy in the rear, or make any effort to rejoin his comrades; but, as though he had done all that was incumbent upon him, fled precipitately, with his whole division, and was not pursued.

His desertion and seeming treachery([118]) appear to have paralysed the King, the bravest leaders, and the whole army. Resistance was presently at an end; Guy, and all who were not cut down upon the field, were made prisoners, and the True Cross—which the Patriarch had not, as was his duty, brought in person, but sent by two bishops, to exalt the courage of the troops—was lost. Whether it formed part of Saladin's booty, or, as some old writers say, was buried for security, and the spot forgotten, is another moot question, but lost it was.([119]) This fatal defeat is called by Christian writers the battle of Tiberias; by Moslem, the battle of Hittin.

Saladin's treatment of the captives is characteristic. He received the leaders in his tent with chivalrous courtesy, Prince Renaud alone excepted, upon whom he frowned most ominously. Observing Guy to look faint and overpowered, he ordered him a cup of cool sherbet. The King drank and handed the cup to his favourite Renaud; when Saladin hurriedly called to the interpreter: "Say to the King, Thou givest it, not I:"—for by Arab law the life of a prisoner, who had received meat or drink from his captor's hand, was sacred; and he had sworn to take Chatillon's. But, in Saladin's eyes, a conversion to Islam outweighed even the obligation of keeping an oath, and he offered his destined victim his life, if he would adopt the Moslem faith. In those days real piety was not incompatible, it seems, with profligacy and the mean-

ness of intrigue; hence, as Prince Renaud was a brave man,

"——— nothing in his life
Became him like the leaving it."

He refused to apostatise, and was taken out of the tent; at the entrance of which, Saladin, in fulfilment of his oath, with his own sabre, either struck off his head, or at least dealt him the first blow, as the signal for putting him to death. Upon returning into the tent the Sultan found his prisoners in some dismay, which he relieved by explaining the oath he had sworn in regard to Chatillon. They were then led away and kept in honourable captivity. From this courteous treatment the Knights of the two Orders were however excepted. To them the same choice as to Chatillon was offered, and it hardly need be added, they all chose martyrdom: which Molsem devotees were permitted, as a religious act, to bestow upon them with their own hands. Yet all cannot have been slaughtered, since the Grand-Master of the Templars, as will be seen, survived to recover his liberty, either by ransom, or with the King. Contemporary chroniclers relate that laymen, ambitious of sharing this glorious fate, falsely declared themselves Templars and Hospitalers; and also, that for three nights, lights as from Heaven, shone over the unburied martyrs.[120] The Grand-Master of St. John of Jerusalem had been carried wounded from the field by some of his knights, and died free.

This defeat was decisive, and Palestine rapidly overrun. The castle of Tiberias surrendered, when Saladin dismissed the Countess of Tripoli and her family with a safe conduct to join her Lord, who had taken refuge at Tyre. This was probably esteemed proof of the Earl's previous understanding with the conqueror; and Raymond's death, which soon afterwards occurred, was, by his contemporaries, decidedly ascribed to remorse for his treacherous desertion of countrymen and co-religionists. He left no children, and was succeeded by his cousin Bohemund, a son of the Prince of Antioch, and one of the companions of his flight from the fatal field of Hittin. A strangely anomalous succession, for, although Bohemund and Raymond were cousins, it was through their descent from Melisenda's two

sisters; and the Normans of Antioch, therefore, who were not of the blood of the Toulousan Earls of Tripoli, could have no shadow of right to inherit their country.

Saladin's conquest was at once all but complete. Forty towns are said to have opened their gates as soon as summoned, and were well treated; whilst the inhabitants of those taken after resistance were massacred. Tyre, into which the Prince of Sidon—who was stopped on his way to join the army with his vassals by the tidings of its destruction—had thrown himself, made a show of resistance; and Saladin, who would not just then spare time to besiege it, turned away, took possession of Sidon and Berytus as he marched southward, and in August laid siege to Ascalon, which, by its situation, was to him more important. This strong city defended itself well; and Saladin, impatient of delay, sent for Guy, to whom he offered his liberty, as the price of Ascalon. Guy desired a conference with the commanders, when he forbade them to surrender for his sake, if they could hold out long enough to allow a chance of relief from Europe; but if they judged this hopeless, he bade them capitulate whilst they could make their own terms. Ascalon capitulated accordingly; the conditions being, the release of the King, of the Grand-Master of the Templars, and of twelve or fifteen other persons to be named by the King; for such of the inhabitants as chose to remove, time to sell their property; for such as chose to remain, security of life, limb, and purse. But the liberation of the captives was postponed till March 1188; Saladin fearing, it is supposed, that the presence of Guy and the Grand-Master in Jerusalem, might thwart his desire of obtaining the Holy City without damaging it by a siege.

The fulfilment of this hope was now the Sultan's chief concern. From his camp before Ascalon he had sent most liberal offers to Jerusalem, in case the Holy City would agree to surrender, if not relieved from Europe by Whitsuntide, 1188;—the Moslem would hardly so designate the time; but the old Chroniclers unhesitatingly put their own words and thoughts into the mouths of those to whom they were most alien. The citizens proudly rejected the proposal, announcing their resolution to defend the Holy

City to the last drop of their blood. When this bold answer was returned, Jerusalem contained only two knights. Soon afterwards, Balian of Ibelin, who had purchased his release by the surrender of his castle of Ibelin and an oath never more to bear arms against the Moslem, came thither, by Saladin's permission, to fetch away his wife, the Queen-dowager Maria, and their family. He was instantly seized by the citizens to conduct their defence, and the Patriarch gave him a dispensation from his oath. He despatched messengers to the Sultan to explain the coercion under which he was about to break his plighted word; and Saladin, generously admitting the excuse, caused the Queen-dowager and her children to be safely escorted, as he desired, to Tripoli.

Balian knighted the sons of the principal citizens, and in high spirits all prepared for their defence. This warlike temper lasted even after Saladin had, upon the 20th of September, encamped before the walls; for he respected a city, almost as sacred in Moslem as in Christian eyes, and still endeavoured to obtain possession by negotiation. His efforts to avert violence and bloodshed from Jerusalem, whilst securing it to himself, and the heroic determination of the citizens, continued through a week; at the end of which the Sultan, his offers being still perseveringly rejected, began hostile operations. A very short trial of the evils of a siege—it has been said, a single day—sufficed to damp, even to extinguish the heroism of the tyro garrison; and Balian was now compelled to visit Saladin's camp in order to obtain a capitulation. The only real difficulty that appears to have delayed the negotiation, related to the rate at which men, women, and children might, respectively, be ransomed. This, after much discussion, being finally settled at 10 gold bezaunts for each man, 5 for each woman, and 1 for each child, the keys of Jerusalem were, upon the 2d of October, 1187, delivered to Saladin.

The affluent speedily ransomed themselves, and the Patriarch then called upon them to assist in rescuing the destitute from slavery. They did so, but scantily; and Jerusalem being crowded with indigent peasants who had flocked thither for protection, these contributions, and

those of the Hospitalers, said to have been munificent, proved wofully inadequate. He next called upon the Templars to dedicate to this purpose the remainder of Henry II of England's fine for the death of Thomas à Becket, which, allotted by the Pope to the defence of the Holy Land, had been placed in their custody, and in great part expended upon the equipment of the army, defeated at Tiberias. All was insufficient; and tens of thousands still groaned over their impending slavery, when Malek el Adel begged a thousand of his brother, received the gift, and instantly enfranchised his lot of slaves. His example was followed by a few Emirs. Then Saladin made the Patriarch and Balian a present of 700 a-piece; and, saying he must emulate the generosity of all around him, ordered that through one specified gate, for one whole day, all persons who had not the amount of their ransom upon them, should pass gratuitously. Eleven, if not fifteen thousand still remained, and for these Saladin refused every petition; they were all, without exception, sold into slavery.

But, for the wives and children of those who had lost life or liberty at Hittin, he expressed much commiseration, made handsome presents to the widows and orphans, and restored many surviving husbands and fathers to their families. He had an interview with Sibylla, who appears to have been present during the previous negotiation, siege, and capitulation, but no more to have interfered with anything, than might a Georgian slave. He was very gracious to her, and allowed her to visit, or to join, Guy in his captivity.

So strict was Saladin's discipline, that during the whole transaction not a complaint of violence or ill usage was heard. Upon taking possession, he sent to Damascus for several camel-loads of rose-water, wherewith to purify the churches, prior to their re-conversion into mosques; and a pulpit, carved by Noureddin's own hands, he placed in the celebrated Mosque of Omar, when re-consecrated to Islam.

CHAPTER XII.

FREDERIC I.

Third Crusade—Movements in Europe—Frederic's preparations in Germany—In the Countries to be traversed—State of the Eastern Empire—Saladin's preparations—The Emperor's march—Difficulties in the Eastern Empire—Frederic's progress—His success—His death. [1187—1190.

It has been seen that however remiss in their own preparations against the impending danger the Syro-Franks had been, they had not neglected the easier resource of seeking aid from Europe. They had so applied as far back as the pontificate of Alexander III, and obtained his promise to endeavour, with a view to the organization of a grand Crusade, to reconcile Henry II of England and Philip II of France (surnamed Augustus, because born in August), who had then just succeeded to his father, Lewis VII. Alexander had accordingly addressed letters to the different sovereigns of Europe, earnestly exhorting them to postpone all conflicting interests to the great cause of Christendom: but he had effected nothing towards this end. When the danger became more urgent, the Patriarch and the Archbishop of Tyre had revisited Europe upon the same errand. Their representation wrung from the Kings of France and England promises to undertake a crusade, as soon as the affairs of their realms and some settlement of their own dissentions should make it feasible. Contented with these assurances, and with having induced divers knights and nobles to make crusading pilgrimages, Heraclius returned to Jerusalem, the Archbishop remaining behind, to urge forward more potent succours. But, ever since the death of Henry the Younger, the two Kings of France and England had been trying to overreach each other about

his widow's portion, *le Vexin*, and the anxious prelate's eloquence was of no avail.

The tidings of the utterly destructive battle of Tiberias, followed by those of its yet more grievous, inevitable consequence, that the birth-place of Christianity, the scene of the Passion of the Redeemer of mankind, was again in paynim hands, gave weight to his words. This calamity fell, like a thunderbolt, upon Western Europe, rekindling extinct enthusiasm, and striking down one of the heads of Christendom. Urban III is believed to have actually died of grief and mortification, that his pontificate should be branded with such misfortune, such dishonour. Feelings envenomed, perhaps, by the consciousness that he himself, when his every thought should have been devoted to the preservation of the Holy Land, had instead been excommunicating a Christian sovereign; and, in order to hurl this spiritual thunderbolt, occupied in contriving his own escape from Verona, where the act was prohibited, to Ferrara, where he could anathematize at his pleasure. Urban expired the 17th of November, 1187. His successor, Gregory VIII, though he did but pass over the stage, dying after a pontificate of two months, addressed exhortations to all the Princes of Europe to join in a crusade; and Clement III, who was elected upon his decease, laboured assiduously to reconcile enemies, and compromise disputes; thus to remove all impediments to the hallowed enterprise, whilst he promised every description of spiritual immunity and temporal protection to crusaders. Wives, brides, mothers, stimulated their respective husbands, lovers, and sons, to set forth for the Holy Land; only regretting that their sex precluded them from sharing in such pious toils and dangers,—and in many cases it was not suffered to do so. Templars and Hospitalers, who were enjoying a kind of furlough upon the European domains of their Orders, flew to their proper post in Palestine. The sovereigns of France and England, at the voice of the Archbishop of Tyre, apparently forgot their selfish quarrels, and in January, 1188, met under the frontier elm, beneath whose shade the Kings of France and the Dukes of Normandy habitually treated; and there making peace, received

the Cross from the universally revered Syro-Frank prelate. The Earl of Flanders followed their example, as did many of the nobles present. The heir-apparent of England, the lion-hearted Richard, had preceded them in assuming the symbol of a Holy War. The West seemed again about to hurl itself upon the East.

But the word peace had not made all smooth between France and England; Richard was entangled in feuds of his own as well as in his father's quarrels; and much remained to be arranged ere any of the European monarchs could move. Italy took the lead, and William II of Sicily was the first in the field. Suspending, in what was felt to be the cause of Christendom, not only Sicilian resentment for the spoliation and dishonour of his great-grandmother, but his endeavours to profit by the disorders weakening the Eastern Empire since Manuel's death, he equipped and despatched a fleet to the assistance of the seaport towns of Palestine. Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, did the same, impelled as much by the importance of the Syro-Frank states to their commerce, as by religious feelings. These first succours were not very considerable, but the circumstances under which they arrived rendered them invaluable. Of this in due time; our present business being with Europe; of which some parts were unavailable to the common cause. Spain, Portugal, and Scandinavia, occupied, as usual, with internal wars, had no leisure to concern themselves with the fate of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The Potentate, upon whom all eyes were bent, was the Emperor; and he needed not the eloquence of the Archbishop of Tyre to excite his sympathy. All recollection of dissatisfaction with the Syro-Franks faded before the idea of the cradle of his Faith in the hands of misbelievers. He thought but of this desecration; and, at the Easter Diet of 1188, convened to meet at Mainz, laying the condition of the Holy Land before the assembled Estates of the Empire, he announced the professed intentions of the Kings of France and England, and put the question: "Whether he and they should not also march to the defence of Palestine?" An unanimous assent answered him. Again he asked: "Did the condition of the Empire allow of his immediately heading a Crusade, or must the

recovery of the Holy Places be deferred to a later, more convenient period?" The zeal of the Princes was fervid, and they exclaimed, that the enterprise must not be delayed one unnecessary moment. The Emperor received the Cross from the hands of Cardinal Albano and the Bishop of Würzburg; his second son, Frederic Duke of Swabia, did the same, and was followed by the Dukes of Bohemia —the royal title seems not to have been as yet necessarily hereditary—of Meran and of Styria, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Archbishop of Treves, the Margrave of Baden—a branch of the Zäringen family, that had transferred the title of Margrave from the old margraviate of Verona, to the internal Swabian province of Baden—with many bishops, earls, and lesser nobles, all, as nearly as might be, simultaneously pledging themselves to redeem the birthplace of Christianity from desecration.

But the Emperor had no more intention than the Kings, of proceeding rashly; nor would he leave his dominions exposed to any disorders or dangers, such as might embarrass his youthful substitute and vicegerent, if in his power it were to avert them. He devoted the remainder of the year 1188 to his preparations. He opened various negotiations with the Kings of France and England touching the conduct of the Crusade; with the monarchs whose dominions were to be traversed, as Hungary, Servia, the Greek Empire, and even the Seljuk empire of Iconium, touching the conditions of a free passage; and, whilst these arrangements were in progress, he turned his thoughts to the measures best adapted to secure the tranquillity of Germany.

To this end, he again made a sweeping destruction of the strongholds of robber-knights; of whom two or more, with their families, now occasionally occupied one advantageously situated castle.([121]) He adjusted, by influence or by force, important feuds, as between the Earls of Hainault and Namur, between the Earl of Gueldres and his old antagonist the Bishop of Utrecht, together with others between parties of less consequence, but still sufficient to enkindle civil war in the absence of the controlling power. One domestic feud—that between the Margrave of Misnia and his eldest son, caused by an attempt on the part of the father to supersede his eldest in favour of his second

son—he could in nowise appease. This quarrel, however, as purely domestic, not being likely to spread beyond the margraviate, he held the less material. Further to guard his son's administration against the troubles always, the anarchy often, engendered by private feuds, the Emperor, in a Diet held at Nuremberg in November, procured the enactment of the most stringent laws against any armed assertion of individual rights, or revenge of individual wrongs during the Crusade:—a potent corroboration of, as well as a corollary from, those equally stringent, by which the Pope had prohibited war among Christians for the next seven years! But it was from two princes dissatisfied, though not then insurgent, whose power defied, as their arrogance disdained, legal restraint, that Frederic chiefly apprehended disturbance to his son's vicegerency. These were the Archbishop of Cologne and the Duke of Brunswick. With the first of these he hoped easily to effect a reconciliation, since a Churchman could not decently proclaim himself the enemy of a Crusader, even setting aside the certainty that by so doing he would incur papal censure. The prelate facilitated matters by throwing the whole blame of the plunder of the Augsburg merchants upon the citizens of Cologne, who were therefore condemned to pay a fine and demolish part of their walls. But, as the reconciliation with the Archbishop, and, on the citizens' part, the expression of obedience, were his chief objects, they were presently allowed to restore their fortifications, and all was well in that quarter; Archbishop Philip, professing himself the faithfully devoted vassal of the Emperor, ready and eager in every way to assist the young King.

Henry the Lion, reduced as he was, was still formidable, and, as an enemy, dangerous. He had now, since his return from exile, resided three years in Germany as Duke of Brunswick; apparently inactive, but believed to be ambitious as ever, and suspected of secretly fomenting misunderstandings, calculated to embroil the Emperor with the Pope and the King of Denmark; whilst pretty well known rather to seek than avoid dissentions with the prince he could not but hate, the new Duke of Saxony. Frederic felt that he dared not trust his angry kinsman in

Germany during his own absence; and resolved to obtain, if possible, his companionship to Palestine, where his leonine and even his vulpine qualities would be invaluable. He, therefore, with the full concurrence of the Diet, made the following proposals to Henry.(122) He in the first place invited him to share in the Crusade, entirely at the imperial expense; and to receive, at their return, remuneration for his assistance, in fiefs.(123) In case he should reject this invitation, two alternatives were submitted to his choice; the one, to relieve the fears he inspired, by rendering himself less formidable; viz., by resigning some portion of his restored possessions; the other, to pledge himself to avoid the Empire, with his sons, for the space of three years,—the computed duration, either of the Emperor's absence, or of the young King's inexperience. The haughty, though sunken, Lion, did not chuse to join the Crusade in a subordinate capacity; further to reduce his already so greatly reduced dominions was out of the question; and therefore—knowing himself unable to cope with the Emperor and Empire united—he took the prescribed oath.

The misunderstandings with Denmark, to which allusion has been made, require a word or two: as they must assuredly have produced a war, had not Frederic's thoughts been devoted to the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, in preference to every other object, except the security of his son. Cânute VI had pertinaciously evaded, if he had not positively refused, to do homage. He had—whilst the Emperor was last in Italy, engrossed with his son's marriage—intrigued amongst, and attacked, the Slavonians subject to the Empire; he had attacked Bogislaf of Pomerania, in retaliation of his before-mentioned attempts upon Rügen, and made him vassal to the Prince of Rügen, who was himself the vassal of Denmark. He had taken advantage of a civil war between the brother Princes of the Obodrites, to overthrow both; and to divide their dominions between his own vassals, Jaromir of Rügen and Bogislaf of Pomerania; and he thereupon assumed the title of King of the Danes and Slavonians. In addition to these offences, he shocked contemporary feelings, and awoke mistrust of ulterior designs, by

refusing to join in the Crusade. That Frederic, through zeal for the recovery of Jerusalem, forbore to recover provinces thus stolen or rent from his empire, was surely the strongest proof of sincere devotion—according to the devotion of the age—that man could give. It was a sacrifice of all the passions, all the sentiments of his soul. But he felt, that any delay of the Crusade would be the final abandonment of the Holy Places to the Moslem, and postponed the chastisement of the refractory vassal, and the enforcement of his own rights, till his return from Palestine. For the moment, he merely demanded the remainder of the portion of his son's betrothed Danish bride, and, upon Canute's refusing it, sent her home unwedded. His nephew, Lewis Landgrave of Thuringia, less warrantably, sent home the Danish King's mother, whom, as Waldemar's widow, he had married. All further discussion of political questions, and even of these irritating measures of retaliation, was deferred until the completion of the Crusade should again permit Christians to turn their arms against each other.

The Emperor, having, with extraordinary energy, thus, as far as might be, regulated the chaos of his times and country, deemed his work at home done, and was nearly ready to set forward, when an appeal for armed intervention was made to him by a Russian potentate. Wladimir, Prince of Halitsch, one of the chief principalities of southern Russia, having been dethroned by his subjects for tyranny, had fled to Hungary; where Bela III—Geysa's second son, who had just then succeeded to his elder brother Stephen—received him kindly, promising to conquer Halitsch for him. Conquer Halitsch he did; but, in lieu of restoring it to the expelled Prince, established his own second son, Andreas, there, throwing Wladimir and his family into prison. Thence Wladimir effected his escape, and, early in 1189, presented himself, as a despoiled and suppliant Prince, before the Emperor. The Halitsch rebellion, however provoked, and Bela's treachery, were alike distasteful to Frederic; who having, moreover, conceived a high opinion of the Grand-Prince Wsewolod III, Wladimir's maternal uncle, would willingly have served his nephew. Nevertheless, he would neither interrupt his

hallowed enterprise nor embarrass it by a dispute with Bela, whose dominions he had to cross. Thus circumstanced, he merely gave the fugitive a letter of recommendation to Kasimir of Poland, an able prince, who, as supreme Duke, was endeavouring to improve the legislation of his country. And he judged that he had thus efficiently assisted Wladimir, since Kasimir, even if he dared slight the recommendation of his absent liege Lord, must needs grudge the King of Hungary possession of Halitsch.

It had been arranged that this most numerous Crusade should, for convenience, begin by dividing its forces; that the different bodies should not, as upon the last occasions, tread in each other's steps, but, as the first had done, take different routes to their common goal. The French and English were to reach the Holy Land by sea, the Germans, as locally nearest, to follow the accustomed land road. The Emperor had, as has been seen, long since taken all preliminary measures for preventing obstructions to his progress by this route, and consequent delay. From the King of Hungary, to whom he had sent the Archbishop of Mainz to negotiate his passage, and from the Princes of Servia, who were now hardly nominal subjects of Constantinople, he had received assurances that the roads should be freely open to his troops, and the markets upon his line of march well supplied with the produce of the country, at prices prefixed.

The Embassador, despatched to Constantinople, found the Eastern Empire in a condition very different, from that in which Frederic had last seen it. Andronicus had not long felt himself securely fixed in his position as Regent when he chose—whether his Antiochæan wife were living or dead is not mentioned—to marry the French Princess Agnes, a daughter of Lewis VII, who had been sent to Constantinople as the bride of the juvenile Emperor, Alexius II; and he proposed to his Imperial ward an illegitimate daughter of his own, as the substitute for the Princess. Alexius refused to make the exchange, and did not long survive the refusal. Andronicus now usurped the throne, and led a life of licentious revelry with his new wife, the young Empress, and his Queen-dowager paramour, Theodora, whose love appears to have been

proof against his infidelity to herself and his crimes. It is said, that when once Emperor, Andronicus would fain have been a good ruler. It is difficult to give such a man credit even for the wish; but, if he did entertain it, he found—as have less profligate usurpers—the mistrust inherent in usurpation an insuperable obstacle to the fulfilment, and became a sanguinary tyrant. Amongst other causeless atrocities, he massacred all the Franks resident at Constantinople, and made no exertions to protect his own people from reprisals; when William II sent a fleet under his Grand-Admiral, Margaritone, and his illegitimate cousin, Tancred Conte di Lecce, to revenge such of the victims as had been Sicilians or Apulians, visiting the monarch's crime—as such can alone be, for the most part, visited—upon his unoffending subjects. (124) Bulgaria, Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, boldly proclaimed their independence: and Andronicus could reduce none of them to obedience. Even at Constantinople his satellites could not always murder those who fell under his suspicion: one designated victim managing to avoid and revenge the fate designed him. This was Isaac Angelus, he who had led Andronicus, at his earnest prayer, by a chain to Manuel's feet. He escaped from his intended assassins into a church, excited a rebellion, dethroned Andronicus, put him to death whilst attempting to fly to Russia, and usurped the throne in his turn. It was with Isaac that Frederic had to treat, and he promised everything that could be desired; but the Constantinopolitan court was then sunk to nearly its lowest depth of weakness and degradation. Isaac was at the same time negotiating with Saladin; in return for whose promise to make over to the Patriarch of Constantinople all the Latin churches in Syria, he permitted the Mohammedans, for the first time, to build a mosque in Constantinople:—a permission in itself sufficient, during the reign of ignorant fanaticism, to fill western Europe with distrust—and he is believed to have justified the apprehensions awakened by promising as much as possible to delay the Crusaders.

With the Sultan of Iconium, Frederic had previously had intercourse of a somewhat peculiar character. The Seljuk monarch had asked a daughter of the Emperor's in

marriage, and the Christian father agreed to give her, provided the Moslem suitor first received baptism. To this no objection appears to have been made by the Sultan, and, if the matrimonial treaty failed, it was only by the death of the bride prior to its conclusion. From his intended, and he might hope, half-converted, son-in-law, Frederic received assurances of a free passage, with abundant supplies, and also of the Sultan's gratification in the prospect of making his acquaintance.

To Saladin likewise Frederic had sent an embassy; but this one bore a regular declaration of war, unless the Sultan of Egypt made satisfaction for the invasion of Palestine and the consequent slaughter of Christians, besides restoring the True Cross and all conquests from the Syro-Franks. Saladin of course rejected such terms; pointing out to the embassador that in Asia the Turks were far more numerous than the Franks, and not like them severed by long tracts of sea and land from their resources. Nevertheless, to spare bloodshed, he offered, upon the surrender of Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre, not only to restore the True Cross, protect all existing Christian churches and cloisters, release his Christian prisoners, and pledge himself to respect the places still held by the Syro-Franks; but likewise to ensure constant safe access of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, where a certain number of priests should be permitted to officiate.[125] These offers were, equally of course, rejected.

Saladin had not expected that they would be accepted. Hence his treaty with Isaac Angelus; and hence he now opened negotiations with the Seljuks of Iconium, whose jealousy of his own power he well knew, and in anticipation of an European Crusade, felt to be fraught with danger.

In the beginning of May, 1189, the main body of German crusaders met the Emperor at Ratisbon. Frederic was now sixty-eight years of age, grey haired, and benignant as venerable in aspect; whilst his sunburnt, ruddy cheek and upright carriage showed he had as yet lost little of manhood's vigour. His appearance filled the crusaders with reverential confidence in his energy and experience, which all his measures confirmed. To guard against

the useless, and worse, the noxious crowd of followers who loved to append themselves to a crusade, the Emperor had ordered that no person of bad character, none who did not understand the use of arms, and none who had not wherewithal to defray his expenses for two years, should be permitted to join his ranks. The Pope feared such precautions, judicious as he allowed them to be, might too much restrict the numbers enrolled for the deliverance of Jerusalem, and took measures for the prevention of the apprehended evil. To this end, he required a general contribution of ten per cent. upon their property, from all those who staid at home, without exemption for noble or ecclesiastic—a tax known as Saladin's tithe—and he sanctioned, it is said, for the first time the sale of indulgences; thus to provide a fund for equipping and supplying the wants of indigent, but otherwise unexceptionable crusaders. The Pope's object was, in Germany at least, fully attained: for, at Ratisbon, besides 20,000 mounted and well appointed knights, appeared citizens, ecclesiastics, free peasants, villeins, in short equestrians and pedestrians of all descriptions, in countless throngs, of course to be winnowed according to the prohibitory edicts. Nor were these all, for many individuals, of the knights the larger portion, delayed joining till the latest moment, and many chose to take separate roads. Of these last, a large body of Netherlanders and Rhine-landers (Cologne alone despatched 1300) went by sea; and, putting into the Tagus for refreshment, were induced there to remain, performing their crusade in Europe. Some bands attempted to pass through Italy, and embark for a southern port; but these, at the desire of Frederic, who liked not such stragglers, were turned back by William II from his frontiers.

From Ratisbon the Emperor and his army, part by land, and part by water, descended the Danube to Vienna, where they where joined by the laggards. Here again he purified his army, dismissing from 500 to 1500—as differently estimated by different writers—camp followers, including thieves and courtesans. He published a code of discipline to be strictly observed: and he renewed his interdict against taking hawks or hounds upon the pious expedition, which was not to be made a party of

pleasure. From Vienna, the march fairly began. The Emperor, bidding, as he hoped, a temporary adieu to the Duke of Austria, who proposed shortly to rejoin him in Palestine,—going thither by sea—embarked upon the Danube, along the banks of which the troops marched.

At a small town upon the river a tumult arose, in consequence of the municipal authorities demanding the customary tolls, which the Crusaders, deeming themselves exempt in virtue of the sacred character of their expedition—pilgrims were usually thus exempt—refused to pay. During the riot, the town was, purposely or casually, burnt. The Emperor, as a preventive of such disorders for the future, sharpened his code of military discipline, republished it, and required from every Crusader an oath to obey its laws. And so strict was he in inforcing the obedience he required, that he soon afterwards executed two Alsatian noblemen for transgressing these crusade-laws.

At Gran, the Emperor was met by the King and Queen of Hungary, who entertained him with hunting parties and banquets, whilst his troops were tediously crossing the Drave in ferry boats. The alliance was strengthened by the betrothal of the Duke of Swabia, now freed from his Danish ties, to a daughter of Bela's. It is said that Bela's Queen, the French Princess Marguerite, requested Frederic to solicit of her consort the release of his younger brother, Geysa; who—preferred to him by the Hungarians because educated amongst themselves, whilst Bela, as a hostage, had grown to manhood at Constantinople—had tried to wrest the crown from him, and since lain fifteen years in prison. The Emperor did solicit his release, which Bela not only granted, but gave Geysa the command of the very respectable body of Hungarians who here joined the army.(126) Upon leaving the Danube to join his troops beyond the Drave, Frederic presented the vessels that had brought him down the former river to his courteous host. At the passage of the Drave, the crusading army was counted, and found to amount to 50,000 knights and 100,000 of inferior station.

This mighty host now marched in four divisions, under separate commanders. The first—consisting of Bohe-

mians and Hungarians—was led by their own respective Princes; the second, by the Duke of Swabia; the third, by three Bishops; and the fourth, by the Emperor in person. Upon leaving Hungary the Crusaders were harassed by the active hostility of the population. This Frederic endeavoured to check by reprisals; but, aware of the impotence of the Constantinopolitan Court in any degree to control these remote, half-barbarous, and more than half-independent provinces, he ascribed the annoyance solely to the temper of the people. He was speedily undeceived. At Nizza, Kalopeter and Asan, two powerful brother-chieftains, descended from old Bulgarian Kings, who were then intent upon re-establishing a kingdom of Bulgaria, exempt from Greek authority, the Grand-Shupan or Prince of Servia, and a lesser Prince of Rascia, waited upon the Imperial Crusader. They all assured him that the hostility he had encountered was the result of especial mandates from Constantinople, some of the Servian chieftains still professing allegiance to Isaac. The Grand-Shupan and the Bulgarians, on the contrary, vehemently professed friendship to the Crusaders, and strove to prove it by personally superintending a gratuitous supply of provisions, and proffering their services in various ways. The Grand-Shupan even proposed to hold his lands in vassalage of the Western Emperor, if Frederic would undertake his protection against the perfidious Byzantines. The Emperor courteously thanked them for their actual and for their proffered services, gravely replying to the last offer, that, inasmuch as he was in arms to recover from Paynim profanation the scene of the Redemption of mankind, not to wage war upon Christian sovereigns, however faulty, it was impossible for him to comply with their wishes. But suspicion of Greek faith was now awakened in his mind, and he despatched a new mission, consisting of the Earls of Nassau and Dietz, and his Chamberlain Markwald von Anweiler, to Constantinople, to ascertain what the designs of that Court really were.

Isaac received the Envoys with cordiality, professing the utmost good will; but, despite his professions, the further the Crusaders advanced into provinces really sub-

ject to the Greek Empire, the scarcer became provisions in their camp, the worse they found the roads—purposely, as was self evident, destroyed—the more obstructed the mountain passes. Still Frederic professed reliance on the word of a Christian Emperor; still treated all as popular passion, which he still tried to check by reprisals; whilst he to the full as severely punished any Crusader who, impelled by hunger or revenge, plundered or maltreated the peasantry, thus provoking them to murder stragglers. The Bishop of Würzburg often, by his desire, preached against robbery. At length Duke Frederic stormed an obstructed pass, now openly defended by Constantinopolitan troops, and was repaid by possession of abundantly supplied magazines. A result so confirming every suspicion, that the Court now dropped the mask. The diplomatist Crusaders were imprisoned; the Greek Envoy in the crusading camp loudly complained of the outrages, and the violations of the existing treaty, committed by the Crusaders; of Frederic's negotiations with the insurgent chieftains, and designing, as Isaac, he said, knew from the Kings of France and England, to place the Duke of Swabia upon the throne of the East-Roman Empire. The Emperor Isaac, he added, the treaty being thus broken, would not now grant the Crusaders a free passage, unless they gave hostages, the Duke of Swabia being one, not only for their peaceable demeanour, but also for the fulfilment of the promise he required, to cede half their conquests from the Saracens to him, and do him homage for the remainder. Frederic laughed at the complaints, taxed the Greeks with their convention with Saladin, and in his turn demanded the release of his Envoys, and the execution of the existing treaty. To the demand of homage he observed: "I am the Emperor Isaac's equal, Roman Emperor and Augustus like him; ay, and with more right to the title, for the metropolis of the world is mine; I reign over Romans, he over Roumeliotes only." And, pending these discussions, he continued to advance.

The Court of Constantinople, hesitating betwixt arrogance and conscious weakness, took half measures; insulted and harassed the army, repeating the demand of hostages and homage, but made no efficient military move.

Towards the end of October, however, Isaac became seriously frightened; then, by way of discrediting the report of his alliance with Saladin, so repugnant to the Crusaders, he released the German Envoys, and sent them, honourably escorted, back to the Emperor. They were received by the crusading nobles with such brandishing of spears, clashing of arms, and jousting evolutions, that their Greek escort was terrified at the seemingly imminent onslaught; until the Duke of Swabia explained to them that these warlike demonstrations were merely German forms of welcome. The bulk of the humbler Crusaders greeted them differently, with hymns and psalms of exultation; and the Emperor with the ejaculation: "I thank God! For these my sons were dead and are alive again, were lost and are found!"

Still Frederic advanced, his son defeating all attempted resistance, taking every town that tried to close its gates against him, and generally finding therein booty so abundant, as to delight his troops, and cause the transmission of the most cheering reports to Germany. Still Isaac hesitated betwixt nominal friendship and open hostility; whilst his subjects, agreeably surprised by the crusading monarch's impartial justice and protection of the unoffending, daily became more reconciled to their passing visitors. The Western Emperor took up his winter quarters between Philippopolis and Adrianople, to await the spring for crossing over to Asia.

Here Frederic received letters from Queen Sibylla, giving him notice that Isaac, agreeably to his treaty with Saladin, had planned the destruction of the crusading army, by poisoning the wine and flour supplied to them, and the wells in the vicinity of all the expected encampments. Here too he received Envoys, sent by Kilidje Arslan, Sultan of Iconium, with renewed assurances of friendship and admonitions to beware of the covert enmity of the Constantinopolitan Court. Together with these warnings of Greek treachery, he received, from the Bulgarian Prince Kalopeter, the offer of an auxiliary army of 41,000 Kumans —a Tartar tribe ready, it should seem, to furnish both sides with mercenaries, being constantly named as part of the Byzantine army ([127])—if he would dethrone Isaac and

assume the crown of the Eastern Empire. This offer he declined as before, and upon the same grounds as before, to wit, that he was pledged to fight the enemies of Christianity, not to chastise a Christian monarch, whatever his offences. Sibylla's communication was heeded, and gave rise to some measures of precaution, whilst still the strictest discipline was maintained. The system of passive resistance and active annoyance still continued to counteract his endeavours, and Duke Frederic still overran the country, taking towns far and near. In one of these he found some confirmation of the Queen of Jerusalem's intelligence; the inhabitants naming places to him where the wells were poisoned, and others where poisoned wine was deposited.

At length, in the month of February, 1190, it seems to have occurred to Isaac that the shortest way of relieving himself from all fear of the Crusaders' designs upon Constantinople, was to transport them into Asia, and leave them and the Turks to slaughter each other. Thus happily enlightened, he concluded a new treaty with Frederic Barbarossa, to which 500 of the principal personages of Constantinople swore upon the high altar in the Church of St. Sophia. By it, Isaac bound himself to forgive all damage done, to provide for the markets being well supplied, and to furnish vessels at Gallipoli for conveying the Crusaders across the Hellespont. Presents were then exchanged, and compensation was made to the German Envoys for their imprisonment. Isaac gave hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions now agreed upon; and, it is said, betrothed his daughter Irene to Frederic's youngest son Philip.[128]

By the end of March, 1190, all was ready for the passage, which began upon Good Friday, and occupied six days;[129] upon this occasion the army was again counted, and the numbers are variously reported at from 82,000 to 300,000. The previous computation, as well as the subsequent narrative, indicate the first number, though certainly very much too low, to be the least erroneous of the two. The Emperor was the last to cross, that he might assure himself no stragglers remained behind; and, upon landing, he dismissed all his Greek hostages except five, detained probably to ensure supplies and guides. He now altered the

organization of the army, making two bodies only; gave the leading of the foremost to his son, who, however young, was by this time deemed a tried warrior, placed the baggage—transferred on account of the mountainous ways from carts to beasts of burthen—between the two divisions, and commanded the second in person. Notwithstanding the professions of the Greek Emperor and the detention of five Greek hostages, bands of Greek robbers harassed the army in Asia as their fellows had in Europe; the markets were most inadequately supplied; and still, therefore, the famishing pilgrims would plunder, would cut the green corn for their horses; and thus, as before, they provoked the enmity of the peasantry. Amidst these annoyances, the army made its way, and upon the 21st of April reached Philadelphia, in Lydia; where, being about to quit the territories of the Eastern Empire, the last five hostages, with an honesty to which the Greeks had no claim, were dismissed.

At Laodicea, the dominions of the Sultan of Iconium were entered: and so kindly were the Crusaders there received, so amply were they supplied with provisions, though the country through which they passed was sterile, that perfect confidence in the friendship of Kilidje Arslan was felt. All difficulties were believed to be over. But suddenly all was changed at Iconium, and soon was that change perceptible in the crusading camp. Kilidje Arslan hated Saladin as the destroyer of many Seljuk princes of his race, and appears therefore to have meant fairly by the Crusaders, whom he considered as allies against the object of his dread and detestation.[130] But Saladin, somewhat alarmed, as before intimated, at the gathering tempest, sent an embassy to Iconium. For this delicate mission he made choice of the Cadi Bohaeddin, who, originally employed by Noureddin to find him allies against his dreaded Sultan-Vizier, had since entering Saladin's service become his most trusted diplomatist and friend; and who, outliving him, became his biographer. The instructions given him were simply to secure co-operation there, at any cost. The result of Bohaeddin's negotiation was the change above mentioned. Kilidje Arslan, after he had despatched his envoys to Frederic, was deposed and confined by his son

Kotbeddin Malek Shah. From him the old Sultan, however, effected his escape, and sought protection from another son, Kaikhosru, who readily promised it. And so far he kept his promise, that he expelled Malek Shah, and nominally reinstalled his father; but he retained all power in his own hand, and, like his brother, was devoted to the Mussulman hero, Saladin.

How early these changes of ruler and of policy were made known to the Envoys accompanying the Emperor, does not appear; but soon the friendliness and the supplies vanished, whilst the line of march was harassed by Turcoman robbers, more numerous and more daring than their Greek predecessors. Ere long a whole army of light cavalry, for ever attacking, never awaiting the retaliatory attack, cut the Crusaders off from the towns where provisions were stored, as from all wells and springs. They suffered severely from hunger and thirst, from incessant skirmishing, from more serious assaults whenever opportunity favoured, and from fatigue; the alarm being so repeatedly sounded by day and by night, that for six weeks no man durst lay aside his armour for an hour. Complaints to the Seljuk Envoys were answered by assurances of their Sultan's friendship, and of his inability to control the wild Turcoman tribes haunting his dominions; marauders, by chastising whom, the Emperor would render him a great service. Frederic was fain to believe them. Amidst these severe trials he maintained the same strict discipline that commanded the admiration of his enemies, and is, together with the generally patient fortitude of the whole army, highly eulogized by Bohaeddin in his reports to Saladin. At length, however, the sufferings became, in the opinion of many, too much for human powers of endurance; numbers deserted to the Turks and apostatized. When a horror-stricken informant reported this disgrace to the Emperor, he calmly observed: "How could we hope to prosper with such comrades? The loss of those Godless men is the purification of the host."

The Seljuk Envoys now proposed to the Emperor to let them seek an interview with the Turcoman leaders, that they might endeavour, by threats of the Sultan's resentment, to avert further attacks; and they desired to be

accompanied by a German knight, as a witness of their zeal. The offer was eagerly accepted, but neither knight nor envoys returned. The latter sent word they were prisoners, and asked for their baggage; with which request Frederic, still desirous to believe them, or rather their Sultan, honest, complied. But the illusion shortly vanished. After a few more days of ever increasing skirmish and privation, the facts of the dethronement of Kilidje Arslan and the actual subserviency of the new Seljuk ruler to Saladin, were frightened out of a Turcoman prisoner, whom the Emperor compelled to guide the army over the mountains by a road different from that previously designed; thus avoiding a defile where their destruction was prepared.

But if they thus escaped a snare, they did not long elude their enemies; the fighting was incessant; but whatever the sufferings of the Crusaders, their blood was not shed with impunity; every Turk or Turcoman who came within reach of their weapons paid with his life for his rashness, and still they struggled forward. Upon the 13th of May, as they prosecuted their weary march, they caught sight of the whole army of Iconium, drawn up, conjointly with the Turcoman hordes, in order of battle. Their united numbers were computed at 300,000 men; and for a moment the Crusaders stood aghast. But the Bishop of Würzburg piously exhorted his brethren to place their trust in God, and rest content with the crown of martyrdom if disappointed in their earthly hopes. The Emperor reminded them that in courage lay the only chance of safety, since flight must be certain death. And the army, shaking off its alarm, raised the German war song, "after the Swabian fashion," says Wilken. All then quietly encamped for the night. At daybreak the bishops said mass, and, as was customary before a pitched battle, the sacrament was administered to the troops. The army was then arrayed for action.

At the Seljuk head-quarters, meanwhile, opinions were divided. Malek Shah, who is said to have had the command, as if he and Kaikhosru had acted collusively towards their father, was bent upon overwhelming the Christians with his numbers, and thus at once annihilating them.

One of the leaders, producing a Turk's arm, cut off through its stout armour by the single stroke of a Crusader's sword, advised to shun close conflict with men of such bodily powers, and wear them out by continuing the course hitherto so successful. The Prince was obstinate, a pitched battle was fought; 10,000 Turks and Turcomans remained upon the field, and the routed host fled to Iconium.

But victory brought not relief to the Crusaders. They were still nearly without food or water, and their guides betrayed them into districts yet more destitute of both. The army was well nigh in despair, when a messenger from the new Sultan appeared, offering the Emperor a free passage and provisions at the price of a gold piece for every Crusader. The Imperial veteran, amidst his difficulties and dangers and in old age, answered the Seljuk plenipotentiary much as in the pride of power and vigour of manhood he had answered the representative of Rome. He said: "It is not the custom of German Emperors or of chivalrous Crusaders to open their road with gold. With the sword, under the protection of our Lord Jesus Christ, will we break our way."

The Seljuk, ere riding off with this answer, angrily announced the hour of the morning at which the destruction of the whole Christian army would teach the Emperor to repent his unseasonable boast. The Crusaders sinking with inanition, gasping with thirst, lamented their monarch's inflexibility; but he calmly announced: "To-morrow night we shall encamp in the Sultan's garden, where plenty awaits us." The confident words were solace; but yet greater solace was found in the report of an Armenian deserter from the Turkish camp, that in every encounter a troop of knights clad in white and mounting white steeds wrought the most slaughter amongst the Turks. Now as there was no such troop in the army, it was clear to the Crusaders that these white warriors must be Saints, headed by St. George. With such supernatural auxiliaries they felt that a doubt of success would be sacrilege.

At dawn the enemy was seen in threatening array; but he only threatened; it rested with the Crusaders to attack.

They did so, and gradually forcing a passage through the formidable hostile array, they actually did, before evening, reach and encamp in the gardens of the Sultan's palace. Here, as the Emperor had announced, they found provisions and water; and here the Sultan made overtures for negotiation. Frederic, before he would listen to anything, demanded the release of the knight whom the Seljuk Envoys had betrayed into captivity; and he was brought to him. But still an immense army pressed closer and closer upon the Crusaders from without, whilst a numerous garrison manned the walls of Iconium. Frederic became apprehensive that the negotiations were a lure, designed to throw him off his guard, thus exposing his camp to a surprise. To counteract this scheme, he again divided the army, in which only about a thousand still possessed chargers and full equipment, into two bodies; with the one he confronted the external Turcomans, whilst he commissioned his son, and Florence Earl of Holland, to lead the other to the assault of the town. The sick and wounded, with the baggage, were stationed for protection betwixt the two.

The Turcoman host attacked the Emperor so fiercely that even he began to falter, and was heard to wish he and his troops had reached Antioch. The Crusaders gave way, recoiling from the storm of darts that met them. Then was Barbarossa himself again. Shouting, "Christ conquers! Christ reigns! We left home to win Heaven with our blood, and now is the time to shed it!" he made his horse caracole, and galloped upon the foe. All the knights followed. Again, as usual, neither Turk nor Turcoman could stand the charge; they broke and fled. Almost at the same instant the Christian banner was seen waving over the walls of Iconium. Duke Frederic had, like his father, been repulsed. His troops also had recoiled from the "iron sleet of arrowy shower" greeting them from the walls. In despair, he flung himself amidst the fugitives, crying, "Forward! Forward! Death is behind us!" Hardly could he rally them, but rally them he did, and led them back to renew the assault. One party now scaled the walls, whilst another simultaneously burst open a gate. The Turks fled before them. The Sultan and the

son, his master, sought safety in an adjacent castle, and Iconium was the Crusaders'. The town was sacked, the booty immense, including the whole sum paid by Saladin for the betrayal of the Franks; but, sad to say, bigotry painted mercy as impious, and the triumph was stained with the massacre of the unresisting, women and children included: not in vengeance for past sufferings and the treachery that had caused them, but because it was deemed unknightly as unchristian to spare God's enemies for the sake of ransom.

Abundance now reigned in the Christian camp; the knights whose horses had died of want or been killed for food, were remounted from the stables of Iconium, and the spirits of the Crusaders revived. Kilidje Arslan, who seems, upon these disasters, to have regained his authority, now from his asylum sued for peace, representing that he, an old man, had been physically coerced by the young, who were themselves morally coerced by fear of Saladin. Frederic replied that, inasmuch as clemency became an Emperor, if hostages were given to insure his unmolested passage through the remainder of the territories of Iconium, with a sufficient supply of provisions, he would grant him peace. The Sultan complied with the demand; peace was made, and for some days the Crusaders recruited their exhausted vigour in Iconium and its well-watered district.

When they resumed their march they still suffered some annoyance from wandering hordes of Turcomans; the roads were mountainous and difficult as ever, the night-halts occasionally disturbed by storms and even slight shocks of earthquakes. But the Seljuks were faithful, provisions abundant, and the inconveniences comparatively trifling. At length the Cross once more greeted their eyes in lieu of the Crescent They had reached a Christian state, the Lesser Armenia, which, upon Manuel's death, had renounced all subjection to Constantinople. Prince Leo, who had just succeeded to his brother Rupin, endeavoured, indeed—although the maintenance of the Syro-Frank states against Turks or Saracens was the true policy of Armenia—to prevent the Emperor from traversing his dominions; but, failing in the attempt, sought to

expedite his transit. To this end, he caused the wants of the army to be abundantly supplied, and even engaged to join in the enterprise. The Crusaders now thought their difficulties really over.

So high had Frederic's reputation risen with friend and foe by his conduct of this Crusade, that Saladin appears to have gradually conceived apprehensions more and more serious. He now despatched Envoys to the camp of the Crusaders, bearing messages of a tenor totally different from his answer to the Emperor's first communication. By these he offered to submit to the judgment of the Emperor himself and of the sovereigns of Europe the legitimacy of his right to the conquests he had made from the Syro-Franks. But him, to whose honour and power this extraordinary compliment was especially offered, the Envoys found not to receive it: already was the exulting joy of the triumphant Crusaders turned into despair.

Upon the 10th of June the army broke up from Seleucia to cross the Kalykadnus, Duke Frederic, as usual, leading the van. The single bridge was narrow; all kinds of difficulties, impediments, and accidents obstructed the passage of the troops, and yet more of the baggage. The consequent disaster is told in two different ways. The Emperor, according to one account, impatient to reach and communicate with his son, resolved to ford or swim the river. In vain he was implored not to trust the unknown stream; Frederic Barbarossa had never known fear, and forced his horse into the water. Whether the current overpowered the animal, whether—which seems the most likely—it stumbled upon the rough bottom and fell, or whether the partial immersion in the deep stream with a sudden chill paralysed the aged frame of the heroic monarch, in the passage, in sight of the whole army, the half-worshipped, Imperial Crusader, perished.

This is the form of the accident, as gathered and adopted by the Italian Giannone and the German Raumer, from some of the old chroniclers.[131] The other account is given by the majority both of those Latin chroniclers and of Oriental writers. They assert that he bathed to refresh himself whilst necessarily detained during the

passage of the troops, was seized with a fit from the coldness of the water, and, according to some, was drowned, according to others, was taken out alive, and survived some hours, or even days. Wilken and Funk ([132]) adopt this statement; the latter ascribing Frederic's death to apoplexy, without any peculiar coldness of the water; and both, upon the authority of an anonymous contemporary, who certainly writes as if he had been an eye-witness, account for the delay in extricating him by an eddy overpowering the first swimmer who got hold of him. The first of these narratives seems preferable, partly because, as Vinisauf observes, more consonant with the Emperor's character and position than the indulgence of a wish for the refreshment of a bath; but chiefly as the best explanation of a whole army's inability to extricate their idolized leader from the water in time to save his life. This, the weight of his armour, supposing his horse to have fallen with him about the middle of the river, renders conceivable, especially if he was crossing unattended. But that a man undressed for a bath, and near the bank, as the bather must be if a fit were caused by the sudden chill of the water, should not have been instantaneously rescued by thousands of spectators, all bold warriors, feeling their lives bound up in his, seems absolutely impossible.

And bound up in his they did indeed feel their lives, and surpassing all power of description was the despair caused by his sudden, irreparable loss. His son Frederic, who upon the long and difficult march had shown dauntless valour and much military talent, was, it is true, at once acknowledged as commander in his father's stead, and all swore to obey him. Nor did the Duke of Swabia betray any insufficiency for the arduous office assigned him. He entered upon it with the activity, energy, and resolution that had hitherto distinguished him. By his firmness he compelled Leo to observe the treaty, from which, upon the dreaded warrior's death, he attempted to draw back. But he was less successful with those who had sworn to obey him, than with allies or enemies. He was not the sovereign to whom the great vassals owed allegiance, he, though their Emperor's son, was but their equal; neither was

the gallant youth the renowned imperial veteran, selected as the leader of the Crusade. He found it impossible to maintain the discipline of the army. In these fertile regions the Crusaders plundered, rioted in every excess, as compensation due for their recent privations; so that more died of repletion and consequent disease, than had perished by the sword or by the many sufferings of their pilgrimage. Many, as though the loss of their leader dissolved all vows and duties, dispersed in various directions, selling their arms to provide for their support, and endeavouring to return home, these by sea, those by land. Of such as persevered in their crusading purpose, many chose at once to lighten its toils and evade the obedience which in a moment of strong feeling they had sworn to the Duke of Swabia, by embarking at the nearest seaport, for any part of the Syrian coast still in the hands of the Christians. Of the immense host led by Frederic Barbarossa from the banks of the Danube, only a fraction, variously estimated at from 1000 to 8000 men followed his son to Antioch, whither his revered corse was conveyed. But these few would, probably, be in every respect its choicest spirits. Upon the 19th of June this little band reached Antioch, where the Duke of Swabia interred his father's remains before the altar dedicated to St. Peter, in the Cathedral.

The deceased Crusader's contemporaries of all countries extol his high qualifications. (133) But there is, perhaps, a still stronger testimony to his real greatness, than the eulogies of Chroniclers of rival nations, and even than the despair of the Crusaders at his loss. It is the confident belief in the prolonged existence of Frederic Barbarossa in the interior of a certain mountain in Germany, where his beard has grown round and round the stone-table at which he sits, and whence, upon some great emergency, he is expected to issue, again to wield the sceptre and the sword, so long cherished by the German peasantry, and hardly yet in these days of enlightenment and revolution renounced.

BOOK III.

HENRY VI—PHILIP—OTHO IV.

CHAPTER I.

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

SIBYLLA AND GUY—GUY.

Continuation of the Third Crusade—Preparations of Kings of France and England—State of Sicily—Transactions there—State of Palestine—Defence of Tyre—Siege of Acre—Death of Sibylla—Contest for the Crown—Origin of the Teutonic Knights. [1189—1191.

THE Crusade, of which the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa was the chosen leader, had, after his death, so little connexion—save in its somewhat remote consequences—with the Holy Roman Empire, that it will be most convenient to dispose of this portion of the affairs of the Syro-Franks, if a little prematurely, before entering upon the reign of Henry VI. Thus, the preparations of the Kings of France and England are the first points to be considered.

Such was the unreasonable procrastination of these preparations, owing to both monarchs turning their arms, despite Papal prohibitions and their own oaths, against each other, that one of them, Henry II, did not live to perform his vow. He was, however, the least to blame for the delay; the first transgressor being Philip Augustus, in prosecution of his almost uninterrupted endeavours to wrest from the English crown some of its French possessions. Raymond Comte de St. Gilles, as a male collateral, had contended with the lineal female heir, Queen Elinor, Duchess of Aquitaine, for the county of Toulouse. The

King of France, almost as a matter of course, pronounced in his favour, and he was invested with the county. Henry and Elinor had, it should seem, submitted to the award: but, when Richard, already invested with his mother's duchy, was eagerly making ready for the Crusade, Earl Raymond, who had done homage and sworn fealty to him as his mesne Lord, chose to allege that the young Duke was about to revive and inforce his mother's claim to the county, and took the opportunity of a revolt in Guienne, to attack him. Philip adopted Raymond's quarrel, Henry naturally supported his son; and it is said that these really perjured Crusaders thought to obviate the charge of violating their oath, to maintain peace amongst themselves until their hallowed enterprise should be achieved, by laying aside, whilst engaged in this war, the Crosses they had assumed when they took that oath. But its details, complicated by the artifices of Philip, and the mutual jealousies, political and domestic, which he sedulously enkindled and fomented in the English royal family, together with the contradictory statements of French and English princes, of French and English chroniclers have no other relevancy to the subject of the present narrative, than as they delayed the operations of these divisions of Crusaders, who were to have moved simultaneously with the Emperor. Suffice it to remind the reader that in this same year, 1189, Henry II died, it was believed, of the shock of finding the name of his favourite son John—in the list given him of the rebels to be included in the amnesty; and that Richard, struck thereupon with remorse for his own unfilial conduct, was no sooner crowned than, postponing all other cares, he diligently prepared for the Crusade.

Richard's zeal exciting Philip's, Easter week, of 1190, was fixed for the time of their departure; and upon the last day of 1189, the two monarchs met at the bridge of St. Remy, near Nonaincourt, to make their final arrangements. They there took measures for the maintenance of internal peace in France and England, analogous to Frederic's in Germany; and not only bound themselves and their respective vicegerents by treaty, to respect each other's rights during the Crusade, and reciprocally afford

assistance in any emergency, but pledged themselves so deeply to each other for the expedition, that, should either die in Palestine, the survivor was, for the accomplishment of their common object, to inherit the army and treasure he there left. They likewise published, as Frederic had done, codes of discipline to be observed in their several armies.

Each of the former Crusades had begun by a massacre of Jews; and, as if Fate grudged mankind the credit of such progress in civilization as abstinence from wanton bloodshed would indicate, the third was not to escape the same stain. The stain was, however, less black; the butchery of the defenceless victims of prejudice being, at least in England, unpremeditated. At the festivities attendant upon Richard's coronation, some Jews indiscreetly intruding, in defiance of an explicit order for their exclusion, into the palace, the attendants, exasperated at what they deemed unwarrantable insolence, violently ejected them. Any appearance of scuffle or affray would naturally produce a tumult amongst the excited London populace, crowding around the palace, to witness as far as possible the celebration of the rite; and those, who were in debt to the Jews, were prompt, as usual, to catch at any opportunity of freeing themselves from troublesome creditors. Thus, dishonest insolvency stimulating bigotry, this casual ejection of half a dozen impertinently intrusive Israelites became the signal for horrible slaughter; which, beginning in London, notwithstanding the active exertions of Government, spread over the whole kingdom. At York, five hundred of the persecuted race sought shelter in a castle, where they defended themselves till their provisions were exhausted. They then proposed to capitulate, and were offered life as the price of apostasy. Many wavered; but Josius or Jocenus, a learned Rabbi, the wealthiest amongst them, indignantly said: "Are we to question God, why dost thou so or so? We are freely to sacrifice our lives when he requires them; not to live apostates upon the alms of his and our enemies." He then, with his own hand, slew his wife, his two children, and set fire to the castle; which done, he stabbed himself. The majority followed his example, and the few who accepted the offered terms gained little by

their cowardice. They were treacherously murdered as they came forth. Richard very severely punished the ringleaders in these atrocities, some being even burnt to death. But what more strongly marks progress in opinion is, that the King, upon hearing that one of the survivors, the well-known, wealthy Benedict of York, had received baptism, sent for him; inquired whether he were really a convert, or had dissembled to save his life; and, when Benedict confessed the dissimulation, permitted him to resume the profession of the religion in which he believed. The words, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury sanctioned the royal permission, are more mediæval and less Christian: "If he will not be a Christian, e'en let him be the Devil's liegeman."(134)

The example of crime was more infectious than the dread of punishment was preventive. A similar massacre of Jewish creditors by debtors, who called and really believed themselves Christians, followed in France; but not a similar punishment. Germany had not, upon this occasion, been so polluted.

These sanguinary incidents had not interrupted the preparations of the two Kings, which nevertheless advanced less rapidly than had been expected. It was late in June ere Richard joined Philip at Vezelai, whence they proceeded together to Lyons. But the numbers thus congregated being found inconvenient, alike to move, to lodge, and to feed, the monarchs separated. Philip marched to Genoa, where he embarked for Messina, the appointed rendezvous for the French and English armaments. Richard descended the Rhone, and proceeded to Marseilles, the port at which, when he landed in France, he had directed his English fleet to meet him. But the rapidity of his movements had outstripped calculation; his ships had not arrived when he reached Marseilles, and, impatient of delay, he hired the vessels he found in that port to convey himself and as many as could be therein accomodated, to Sicily, leaving the bulk of his army to await its pre-arranged means of transport. Richard's impetuous temper soon became equally impatient of the monotony of a sea voyage. He incessantly landed, to ride on hired

horses, with or without attendants, from point to point of the coast, in a reckless, knight-errant style, but too indicative of the self-willed character, more chivalrous than regal, which afterwards, involving him in enmities, exposed him to calumny and imprisonment. But, ere narrating the incidents that marked the sojourn of the royal Crusaders at Messina, it will be proper to state what was then the condition of the kingdom of Sicily.

Richard's brother-in-law, William II, with whom all their arrangements had been made, was no more. In November, 1189, at the early age of thirty-five, he expired; but not with him expired the cabals and intrigues that had distracted his whole reign. The English Archbishop of Palermo—who had effected the recognition of Constance as presumptive heiress, and her marriage with the King of the Romans—immediately claiming the crown in her name and her husband's, despatched messengers to Germany with intelligence of the event, and an urgent summons to come and take possession. But the affairs of the Empire then inevitably detaining Henry in Germany, he contented himself for the moment with sending his Chancellor Diether, and the Archbishop of Mainz, to assist the Sicilian prelate in maintaining his and his wife's right, and further to report upon the state of her heritage. Had Constance herself accompanied them, she would probably not have been the less welcome for presenting herself alone to her vassals and subjects, and much bloodshed might have been avoided. That she did not, can only be explained by the young king's jealous temper, that feared if his consort assumed her hereditary crown alone, she might establish her authority independently of his control. But, whatever the cause, Constance did not in person assert her right; and the Archbishop of Palermo's chief rival, the *Protonotario* Matteo, who, if he had been once defeated had by no means abandoned the game, found the circumstances of the moment propitious to his purpose of barring her accession. She and her husband were absent; their German emissaries—apparently confining their investigations and endeavours very much to Apulia, whilst Sicily was the focus of intrigue—sent favourable accounts

that lulled Henry into security. Broils, in fact a civil war, that was always threatening, broke out during the virtual interregnum.

A large portion of the Sicilian population still consisted of Saracens: of whom those inhabiting the mountainous districts acknowledged no authority but that of their own Chiefs; and the loyalty of Moslem Chiefs to any Christian king was so doubtful, that scarcely could they be properly deemed subjects or vassals. On the other hand, those who had settled in towns were, like their brethren in Spain, far advanced beyond their Christian fellow-countrymen in civilization, in knowledge, and in all mechanical arts. Hence the favour they enjoyed at Court, the high offices they held in the Government, which excited the envy and the anger of all who thought themselves supplanted by misbelievers. The suspension of all control by royal authority, upon William's death, through the absence of his heirs, was to the mortified Christians an opportunity for revenge too auspicious to be missed. The Christian townsmen attacked and worsted their Mohammedan neighbours, who, too few in number to defend themselves, fled to their fierce co-religionists in the mountains; and the mountaineers, proud of their own independence, rose in arms to protect and avenge their compatriot fellow-worshippers, the citizens. This civil war, combined with the absence of the sovereign, appeared, in like manner, to the higher nobility—who under the two Williams had broken the iron yoke imposed upon them by the two Rogers—a favourable moment for substituting an aristocratic republic for the monarchy. With such views they of course delayed and hesitated to acknowledge Constance and Henry; and, in this complicated confusion, Matteo, in his turn, perceived an opportunity of seating a king, who should be his creature, upon the throne, in lieu of those whom he had made his enemies.

For this king, he made choice of an illegitimate scion of the royal race, whose name has already been mentioned, and whose pretensions must here be explained. Prince Roger, the gallant and generous eldest son of King Roger, having been sent, according to the custom of the times, for chivalrous education, to the castle of a nobleman, the

Conte di Lecce, had fallen in love with the daughter of his host. The lady requited his passion, and two sons, Tancred and William, were the fruit of this attachment. The Prince then solicited his father's consent to his marriage with the mother of his children; by which subsequent nuptials, according to the canon law, as well as the law of Sicily, the illegitimately born offspring would have been rendered legitimate. Whether the King did, or did not give that consent was a question warmly disputed by the respective partisans of Constance and of Tancred; though apparently little material, no one alleging that the marriage took place; and it must be observed, that no claim had been advanced in his behalf, in opposition to either of the Williams, his uncle and cousin, who, if he was legitimate, were usurpers. What is certain is, that Prince Roger, worn out, it is averred, by licentious excesses, died of a decline, unmarried; and that, upon his death, the King accused the Conte di Lecce of having sought to entrap the Crown-Prince into an unequal marriage. The Conte fled with his family, and took refuge in Greece, leaving behind him his two illegitimate grandchildren, who were kept by their royal grandfather in a sort of honourable captivity at Palermo. The youngest died; Tancred recovered his liberty in Bonello's first insurrection, and was implicated in all the following plots and conspiracies. When the King gained the ascendency, he fled to Athens; where he resided for some time with his mother, and was one of those whom Queen Margaret, as Regent, amnestied; which, had she feared him as a possible rival to her son, he would hardly have been. By his personal beauty, address, courage, liberality, and musical talents, it may be presumed, rather than by his reported proficiency in astronomy and mathematics, Tancred became a popular as well as a court favourite. William II employed him in divers high offices, gave him his maternal grandfather's county of Lecce, and, it has been seen, in 1185, associated him with his Grand-Admiral Margaritone, in the command of an expedition against the Eastern Empire.

This was the person, whom Matteo selected for the antagonist of Henry and Constance, and whom he proposed to the Barons assembled at Palermo as their King. The

arguments that he addressed to them against the lawful heiress, wife to the King of the Romans, are so precisely identical with those which have been used for the last few years against Austrian domination in Lombardy, that their universal currency makes it quite supererogatory to trouble the reader with their repetition or enumeration. His other arguments are more worthy of notice. Tancred's own oath of prospective allegiance to Constance, taken at William II's command, he endeavoured to neutralize by alleging that, in a King, it was more sinful to keep than to break an oath sworn contrary to the interest of his country. He urged, that the son ought not to suffer, because his father died before he had done justice to the mother, and thus concluded: "Even were his hereditary right insufficient, have not we the same elective rights that our ancestors exercised, when they placed his ancestors on the throne? And were all these deep-seated reasons unavailing, is not this argument conclusive,—that rebellion is raging in the land, and we need a present King?"

As a political intriguer the Archbishop was no match for the Protonotario, who appears to have long preconcerted this move with Tancred. The Barons, who perhaps hoped to extort greater privileges from an usurper than from the rightful heir, were won, and a deputation waited upon the Conte di Lecce with an offer of the crown. He affected to hesitate, and urged his scruples on account of his oath of allegiance to his aunt Constance. But Clement III, then already the occupant of St. Peter's chair, naturally dreaded the annexation of Southern Italy and Sicily to the dominions of the Swabian Emperors, and a papal dispensation from the obligations of that oath was ready to relieve his conscience. Tancred thereupon accepted the birthright of the aunt, to whom his allegiance was solemnly sworn. In January, 1190, he was crowned at Palermo, and received investiture of the kingdom from the papal sanctioner of perjury and usurpation, as Lord Paramount. He immediately repaid, and stimulated, Matteo's exertions with the post of Grand-Chancellor.

Tancred was now King; but not even his suzerain's protection could seat him securely upon a contested

throne. In Apulia, Henry's deputies were asserting the rights of the lawful and recognised heir. In Sicily, the Saracens were in arms against Christian sovereignty; the Archbishop of Palermo, and all the partisans of Constance, were avowedly dissatisfied; so were the proud nobles who had hoped to be the rulers of a republic; and yet others, who thought that, if the lineal heir were to be set aside, they, as legitimate Norman nobles, had better claims to the vacant throne than a base-born Hauteville. The last two classes of malcontents, speedily discovering their own objects to be unattainable, coalesced with the Archbishop, as head of the legitimatist party; and conjointly they despatched a deputation to Germany, to urge Henry to lose no more time in recovering his wife's heritage from the usurper. There, for the moment, the matter rested.

Although this change in the condition of Sicily could not be matter of indifference to the royal Crusaders, they persevered in their purpose of there assembling their forces, thence to proceed together to the Holy Land. Richard's voyage having been delayed, partly by his indulgence of the whims before mentioned, partly by his reluctance so far to precede his fleet as should cause him to appear at the *rendezvous* shorn of his might—was that his real motive for the censured indulgence?—Philip reached Messina first. Richard, upon his arrival, found that the French King had not only taken up his quarters in the town, but had so taken them as to leave no fitting accommodation for his brother monarch;—whether actuated by sheer selfishness, or in assumption of superiority as suzerain, may be questionable. Possibly Richard's consciousness of superior power prevented his feeling any suspicion of such an assumption; certainly he betrayed nothing like captiousness upon the occasion, but, good-humouredly giving way, encamped with the troops accompanying him outside the walls.

Two reasons might tend to reconcile the lion-hearted King to this position. The one, that he found the large portion of his army, which his fleet had brought prior to his arrival, and which had lodged itself in Messina, involved in quarrels with the citizens, whom—as mongrels between Greeks and Saracens, nick-named *Griffons*—they

despised, whilst they delighted in provoking their Oriental jealousy of their women. Blood had already been shed in these idle quarrels. The other reason was, that Richard, from information received during his voyage, landed highly dissatisfied with the new King of Sicily. Tancred had not only hitherto withheld from Queen Joanna, Richard's sister, the dower assured to her by her marriage contract, and the several articles of great value, assigned by Sicilian law to royal widows—conduct to which he was impelled by want of money to maintain his usurped throne —but, fearing the Queen-dowager's influence in favour of Constance, he had actually placed her in confinement. Indignantly, the King of England demanded justice for his sister and the fulfilment of the treaty concluded, preliminarily to her marriage, between her father and her husband. Tancred, who in prevision of Richard's anger had sedulously courted the King of France, resisted the demand; asserting that he had already satisfied the lawful claims of the Queen-dowager with a large sum of money. He however released her from captivity, when she hastened to seek her brother's protection.

Pending this dispute, the ill-will between the Messinese and the English increased from day to day; and the ground being thus prepared, the violence of a market-woman produced a formidable outbreak. An English archer having, probably for the boyish pleasure of irritating her, offered an offensively low price for her wares, she screamed murder! Her countrymen flew to take her part, the English Crusaders to take their comrade's; and presently the whole of both city and camp were in commotion. Richard was obliged to interpose in person; and though he could collect but twenty men to support his interposition,(135) the broil ended in the capture and plunder of Messina by the English.

Philip's jealousy of his royal vassal having, apparently, been excited or revived by the superior magnificence that Richard had displayed, since his landing in Sicily, now revealed itself; inducing him, whilst he forbore actively to interfere, very decidedly to favour the Messinese throughout the affray. Upon their complete discomfiture, he, nevertheless, demanded half the booty made in the

city—the agreement touching booty made from the misbelievers in the Holy Land,—and that his banner should float upon the walls beside the English.(136) A breach seemed inevitable. But the wrathful Richard suffered himself to be persuaded by his barons to yield upon the latter pretension, and the rapacious Philip found it necessary to abandon the former. When this dispute was settled, Philip interposed as a mediator between the Kings of England and Sicily; and his efforts were greatly assisted by a hostile demonstration of Richard's, in consequence of an attempt on Tancred's part to starve him into terms. In the end, Tancred paid Joanna 40,000 ounces of gold in full compensation of her claims, and Richard promised the hand of his nephew and presumptive heir, Prince Arthur, to a daughter of Tancred's, whom he, on his part, promised to dower as beseemed a royal bride.

These various dissensions and hostilities had detained the royal Crusaders, till the season was too far advanced to allow of their safely prosecuting the scarcely begun voyage; and it became necessary to winter in Sicily. During the delay, new differences arose betwixt them. Philip learned that Richard, either in utter disregard of his long-standing contract to the French Princess Alice, or in confirmation of all the scandalous reports respecting her and his father, Henry II, had engaged himself to Berengaria of Navarre, with whom, having seen her whilst resident in Aquitaine, he had fallen in love. He learned further, that the Queen-dowager of England was even then bringing the Spanish bride to her son; and, resenting the indignity thus put upon his sister, he sent a haughty message to Richard, by which he required him instantly to wed Princess Alice by proxy, and get ready to set sail for the Holy Land in March. What answer Richard returned to the first part of this message is not recorded; and indeed it is difficult to conceive what excuse he could make to the slighted lady's brother,—the true one, to wit, his conviction that she had been his father's paramour, being of all others the most offensive. To the second, he replied that his ships needed repairs, that he was building battering engines—the Sicilian Arabs probably excelled, like their Spanish brethren, as engineers—and that he

could not be ready before summer. Philip commanded him, as a vassal, to obey his Liege Lord, upon which condition he would pardon his desertion of Princess Alice. Richard haughtily denied that any such obedience was due;(137) Philip called upon all Richard's French vassals to leave their mesne Lord and follow him, as Lord Paramount, and Richard denounced the forfeiture of their fiefs as the penalty of compliance with the French King's demands. From this day, whatever the subsequent semblance, the reality of friendship, if it ever had existed betwixt the rival monarchs, disappeared. Nevertheless, the Earl of Flanders succeeded in negotiating a convention, by which Richard was released from his engagement to Alice, upon paying 10,000 marks to her brother, and pledging himself, should he have two sons, to sever his French dominions from the crown of England. Princess Alice afterwards married a French nobleman, the Comte de Ponthieu.

After this nominal reconciliation, the two Kings associated and sported together; and a singular scene occurred at a tilting match with mere sticks, illustrative of the Lion-heart's temper and character. In Philip's train was a knight, named Guillaume des Barres, who, in the last French war, had justly incurred Richard's displeasure. Having been made prisoner in a skirmish preceding a pitched battle, upon plighting his word not to attempt escape (rescue or no rescue), he was, according to chivalrous custom, left free; but during the engagement broke his parole, seized a page's horse, and fled. Des Barres, notwithstanding this dishonourable act, was admitted to joust with the Kings and their nobles; he was a man of extraordinary corporeal powers, and, in this tilting, Richard found it not only impossible to unhorse the false knight, but so difficult to keep his own saddle against him, that, becoming excited even to exasperation, he suddenly exclaimed: "Away with thee! And beware I never see thee again. For between me and thee, and all thine, is henceforward eternal enmity!" In vain Philip and the noble Crusaders of both armies strove to appease the mortified tilter; yet before either party quitted Sicily he had frankly pardoned his powerful antagonist.

During the winter, petty causes of irritation were for ever occurring between the crusading monarchs, which the manœuvres of Tancred (who might fairly think the disunion of his two potent guests essential to his own safety) so aggravated, that a complete breach seemed inevitable. The mistrustful Sicilian invited Richard, whom he now courted in preference to the French King, to his palace at Catania; and there, amidst the festivities with which he strove to win his favour, informed him that a design of seizing Sicily for himself was imputed to him by Philip, even showing in proof of his words, a letter to this effect, which the Duke of Burgundy, he said, had brought him from the King of France. Philip, when taxed with, denied the calumny, declaring the letter to be a forgery of Richard's. A defence so extraordinary as to give Tancred's accusation a tinge of verisimilitude; since it is impossible to divine how any object of the King of England could be promoted by such a forgery, although some of the King of Sicily's might. Again the Earl of Flanders, interposing, effected a reconciliation, and Richard freely lent his acknowledged suzerain ships, to transport himself and his troops to Palestine.

In these English vessels Philip, towards the end of March, sailed for the Holy Land. Queen Elinor, who, in consideration, partly of the dignity of her future daughter-in-law, and partly of the feelings of the rejected bride's brother, had hitherto remained quietly at Naples, with Berengaria, now, upon his departure, took her over to Sicily. But the moment was inappropriate; Lent was not over, and marriage, it has been seen, could not then be solemnized without a breach of the reverence due to the season of mortification. The Queen-mother, therefore, when, after passing twelve days with her children, she embarked for England, committed to her daughter Joanna the care of the affianced Princess. Richard now made ready for his voyage, and his preparations were more consonant with its sacred character and with that of the season than might have been anticipated from his disposition. He made confession of his sins, and, in penance for them, permitted his bishops to "scourge th' offending Adam out of him."(138) That done he embarked, but either from

respect to decorum, the marriage not having yet taken place, or that he might be more free for any warlike adventure that should chance to offer, he did not perform the voyage in the company of his bride, who, with the Queen-dowager of Sicily, sailed in a separate vessel. But, ere landing any of the Crusaders in Palestine, it will be proper to see what had there ensued since the fall of the Holy City; in what state they were to find the kingdom they had armed to defend, or rather to recover.

When Saladin was fully established in possession of Jerusalem, he proceeded, in November, 1187, to besiege Tyre. The Prince of Sidon had left it for Tripoli; and the Governor, although the inhabitants were bent upon defending themselves, judging resistance to be hopeless, refused to make their condition worse by so vain an attempt. He therefore offered to treat, and Saladin sent him two standards to hoist in sign of submission. This, however, he would not risk the fierce anger of the Tyrians by doing, until the Sultan's army should actually be before the city. It appeared, and the day of surrender was fixed; when an arrival from Europe changed, or for many years postponed, the fate of Tyre.

The new comer was Marquess Conrad of Montferrat, the captor of the warlike Archbishop of Mainz. He had left Italy with his father at the head of a small band of armed pilgrims, but had quitted him by the way. The old Marquess, hurrying forward to the fulfilment of his vow, had arrived with his crusaders in time to participate in the disastrous defeat of Tiberias. His son had directed his course to Constantinople, there—the previous marriage that had obliged him to cede the Emperor Manuel's daughter to his younger brother Rinieri, being probably dissolved by death—to celebrate his wedding with the Emperor Isaac's sister, Theodora, to whom he was already contracted. He found a rebel general, named Alexius Brancas, encamped at the city gate, and the indolent voluptuary Isaac, upon the point of yielding to him. Marquess Conrad, known as a brave soldier, breathed new life into all. He made the Emperor pawn his jewels for money with which he hired Turks and Saracens as auxiliaries, and he induced the Franks in the

city to arm. When the Greeks saw efficient troops under efficient leaders, they too joined the ranks of the loyalists, and an imperial army was assembled. Isaac stimulated and assisted by Conrad, led forth the army, thus formed, gave battle, and defeated Brancas, whom Conrad slew with his own hand. The dead rebel's head was cut off, and it is said that Isaac—cowards and voluptuaries are generally cruel—after it had been played with as a ball at a banquet, sent the sanguinary trophy to the imprisoned widow of the slain. Conrad was immediately created Cæsar, and Isaac would fain have detained him to exercise supreme authority at Constantinople. But he was disgusted with either the Constantinopolitans, or his imperial brother-in-law, or his new wife—inflamed with honest crusading zeal, it is difficult, from his subsequent conduct to believe him—and made his escape, by smuggling himself on board a ship at the moment of her sailing. In this ship he reached Tyre, as before said, the very day prior to that appointed for hoisting the Moslem flag.

Conrad arrived full of exultation at his recent deliverance of the Eastern Empire, and recoiled indignantly from the impending surrender. The martial citizens inquired whether he would undertake the command and defence of the city; and upon his confident "Yes," joyfully proclaimed him Prince of Tyre, by what right—Tyre being part of the kingdom of Jerusalem—is not so apparent. Diligently the new Prince prepared for a regular and obstinate defence; and when summoned by Saladin to execute the convention, answered that he had made none. The Sultan thought at once to vanquish him by sending for the old Marquess, one of his Hittin prisoners, to the camp, and threatening to put him to death if his son did not at once surrender. But Conrad coolly replied to the message that not for any individual's sake would he surrender a single stone of the walls he had pledged himself to defend; and that, at his father's age, with only a few years of infirmity to expect, the crown of martyrdom would be the first of blessings. And as if to demonstrate the truth of this asserted opinion, he would not even direct his engineers to avoid hitting the places where his father should be exposed. Saladin was however

too generous to execute his threat, and the old Marquess of Montferrat lived to be one of the fellow-prisoners released with Guy. Conrad conducted the defence of Tyre with equal skill and courage; by stratagem he destroyed the Egyptian fleet blockading the port, and before the end of January 1188, Saladin, impatient seemingly of tedious operations, raised the siege.

This check scarcely interrupted his career of conquest. During the whole of this year, and the first half of 1189, he continued to overrun and subdue the previously unoccupied, rather than unconquered, provinces. He then turned his arms northward against the principality of Antioch, where Bohemund appears not to have made even an attempt at defence; but upon Saladin's advance, to have immediately agreed, if not relieved by foreign succours within seven months, to surrender both his own dominions and Tripoli, so recently bequeathed to his second son. He was spared part of the shame he had incurred, as well as all the loss consequent upon his dastardly conduct, by the timely arrival of the Sicilian fleet;—the first division of the third Crusade, it will be remembered, that was ready to act. It was commanded by the Grand-Admiral Margaritone, and upon reaching the Syrian coast narrowly escaped capture at Acre, where the Saracens kept the Christian standard displayed, in order to insnare European vessels. This Margaritone, when upon the point of entering the harbour, fortunately discovered. He then steered northward, visiting Tyre, where his aid was no longer needed; but the position of Tripoli and Antioch, being there made known to him, he hastened to their relief. Thus were all these important places preserved for the present to Christendom.

In the midst of Saladin's rapid conquests, occurs one of the very few dishonourable actions imputed, even by his enemies, to this admired prince, and that one for which it is difficult to imagine any motive sufficiently strong to be really a temptation, whilst it is little consonant with subsequent history. The accusation is this. [139] Instead of releasing Guy and the twelve companions of his choice, in March, 1188, the price at which he purchased the surrender of Ascalon, he not only detained them in captivity till May,

but when, upon the earnest remonstrances of Sibylla, who seems to have merely visited Guy, he then set them free, he compelled them further to purchase the liberty already paid for; Guy, by abdicating the crown, and all the thirteen, by swearing a solemn oath never again to bear arms against the Mohammedans. Assuredly, Saladin's appreciation of Guy must have been very different from that of the King of Jerusalem's enemies, if he could think it worth while to violate a solemn engagement, merely to avoid encountering him at the head of the Syro-Franks. Be this as it may, Guy, it is added, was no sooner at liberty than he and his companions obtained dispensations from their unjustly extorted oaths; he resumed the government, as they did their arms. Nor does it appear either that, in Guy's subsequent contest for the crown, this abdication was ever brought forward as an argument against him, or that Saladin ever reproached him or those released with him, with having broken their oaths. Some old authors name the Grand-Master of the Templars as one of the twelve, but it was actually impossible that he should take such an oath in direct contradiction of his Templar's oath, and the more general opinion is that the Order, either before or after Guy's release, ransomed him by the surrender of one of its castles.

The first fruit of Guy's release must have taught Saladin to regret having so long detained him; being a schism in the small remainder of the kingdom. With Sibylla he immediately repaired to Tyre, as the strongest and most important place remaining to them; but Conrad, proclaiming himself independent Prince of Tyre, refused them the admittance they demanded, as sovereigns, of their vassal. The Pisans, who were legally masters of a part of the city, and whose fleet occupied the harbour, in vain urged the right of the King and Queen to the recognition and admittance they claimed; Conrad called, and called successfully, upon the Tyrians to join his own few followers in opposing them, should they attempt to force an entrance. Many fugitives from the fatal field of Hittin, and from divers of the lost towns, had already gathered around the royal standard; but Guy was too prudent to superadd a civil war to his struggle for existence against a conqueror. He withdrew from before

Tyre; visited Antioch and Tripoli, and spent the year in endeavours to secure vassals and allies, and to raise troops in order to resume hostilities. In the early part of 1189, he is allowed by Arab historians to have defeated a body of the Sultan's troops,(140) and towards the end of August, 1189, he attempted to carry Acre by surprise. For a moment he seemed not unlikely to succeed; but an idle rumour of Saladin's approach in great force interrupted the assault, and when it was renewed the opportunity had fled. Upon his repulse he began a siege in form.

This was an operation so much beyond his means, his whole army consisting of 700 knights and barely 9,000 foot,(141) that Guy was much dissuaded from undertaking it and blamed for his pertinacity. Experience had, perhaps, cured him of his too great pliability, and the measure, if somewhat bold, proved in the end judicious. It at once stopped the conquest of the kingdom, anxiety for the preservation of a sea-port town, esteemed then as now, the key of Syria, concentrating Saladin's attention upon its defence,(142) whilst Guy's camp formed a nucleus, around which gathered all remaining warlike Syro-Franks, and, as they arrived, the small bands of Crusaders that preceded the royal armaments.

Acre is situate at the extremity of a projection of land that forms the north-western point commanding the mouth of the bay; the wall is washed by the sea on the western, and by the waters of the bay upon the southern side. The shore of the bay is a fertile plain of no great extent, girdled by the Phœnician and Galilean hills, with Mount Carmel as their southern termination. But the streams that give this plain its fertility render it unhealthy after heavy rains, when they overflow, and convert it into a morass.

Guy had not numbers to shut in Acre upon its two land sides, but he pitched his camp before it to the east. Saladin, the report of his vicinity having only been premature, presently appeared with his army. He entered the town, made all requisite arrangements for its defence, established a system of signals to enable the Commandant of the garrison to receive his instructions, so as to facilitate his acting in concert with him; and then encamped upon one of the nearest hills, to watch Guy's movements.

Bands of Crusaders now began to arrive; first Danes, then Frieslanders, despatched by King Henry to meet, as he hoped, his father in Palestine; then, with the same hope, came the Landgrave of Thuringia, who rendered Guy a double service. Making Tyre first, he urged Conrad, his kinsman by their mothers, to assist in the siege of Acre as a Crusader, and prevailed upon him to open a negotiation with Guy as to terms. Conrad required as the price of his aid, not only the independence of Tyre, but the promise that Sidon and Berytus should, when reconquered, be added to it. Prince Reginald of Sidon had forfeited all claim to them, by asking and receiving from Saladin lands in Damascus as compensation for the principality he renounced when submitting to him; and so urgent was the need of Conrad's help, that the King and Queen acceded to these demands. The Prince of Tyre, in return, undertook to supply provisions for the whole besieging army, which he joined at the head of 1000 horse and 20,000 foot;—surely these numbers must have included both the survivors of his father's Montferrat band, and the Landgrave's Thuringians. He took post with the Hospitalers on the northern side of Acre, which was thus completely shut in by land.

The siege was long and peculiar, the besiegers being themselves in a manner besieged by Saladin's far larger host. From its great prolongation huts were gradually substituted for tents in Guy's camp; and from the condition of the kingdom non-combatant Christians repaired to it, as to the capital. Queen Sibylla, with her four daughters by Guy, was domiciliated in this temporary wooden town, where huts of shopkeepers alternated with those of soldiers. For one while the frequent, often objectless, fighting, was intermingled with a strange sort of social intercourse between enemies, who, despite their reciprocal intolerance, had learned to respect each other. Upon one of the latter occasions, it seems to have struck the warriors as desirable that the children should share the toils, dangers, and glories of the adults, and thus be early trained to what appeared likely to form the business of their lives; and it was arranged that two Christian boys should encounter two Mohammedans of their age. Chil-

dren abounded in the camp as in the city, so that no difficulty in providing the juvenile champions delayed this strange combat. The four boys fought; the young Moslems took one of the Christians prisoner; the victory was pronounced theirs, and the captive was ransomed, as had been predetermined, for two gold pieces. A curious, as illustrative, specimen of the feelings of the age.

In October, a more serious battle was fought, in which the excellence of Saladin's previous arrangements, and the rashness of the Grand-Master of the Temple, gave the Saracens the advantage. At the head of his Templars, without waiting for the junction of other troops, he attacked, defeated, and incautiously pursued the enemies in front of him. Whilst Saladin was making prodigious exertions to prevent the infection of flight in his own ranks, and to profit by the gap thus left in those of the Christians, the garrison sallying, as they had beforehand been commanded, attacked the camp, for the guard of which, Guy's brother, Geoffrey de Lusignan, had only a small corps. The absence of the Templars was now painfully felt; and the confusion created by a report of the danger of the camp—full it will be recollected of wives and children,—being increased by the indiscretion of some Germans, who, in their eagerness to recover a runaway horse, broke their array, Saladin gained the victory. During the engagement, Guy rescued Conrad from the enemy's hands, into which the Grand-Master of the Templars fell; though whether dead or alive is uncertain. If the latter, he was either slain by Saladin's orders or died of his wounds. The Saracens are reported by their own writers to have been much amazed, upon stripping the dead, to find three women in knight's armour; and unable to conceive female purity, save in seclusion, at once set down these devout amazons as courtesans.

The victory was barren; each army resuming the position previously occupied, and the garrison of Acre being driven back into the town by the return of the Christians to defend their camp. An Egyptian fleet soon afterwards appeared off the mouth of the bay, which had been hitherto blockaded by the Sicilian and Italian squadrons. Not indeed completely; since Saracen barks, by displaying the

Cross aloft, and swine upon their decks, had managed frequently to pass, with the fleets, for Christian vessels, and so slipping through, to enter the port; which, defended by strong towers, was still in the possession of the town. The Egyptian fleet now attacked those of the Crusaders, defeated, and chased them from their station. The sailors taken in the captured ships were forthwith hung upon, or externally from, the walls of Acre.

During the winter, Guy continued the siege, as did Saladin his watch upon the besiegers. The latter, however, removed his camp to a somewhat greater distance; and, judging active operations over for the next few months, permitted a large part of his army to return home for the unpropitious season. Guy similarly indulged those who had homes to retire to; and amongst others Conrad withdrew with his troops to Tyre. Occasional affrays diversified the winter; but the principal occupations of the Syro-Franks and the Crusaders were fortifying their camps and constructing battering engines; that of the Sultan's troops, watching them; and the chief casualties that occurred, proceeded from disease.

With the return of spring, reinforcements poured in upon Saladin from all parts of his widely-spreading dominions. New bands of Crusaders joined Guy, and Conrad brought a fleet, with which he attacked, defeated, and drove away, in its turn, the Egyptian fleet. The cruelties practised upon the Christian sailors were now more than retaliated; and that mainly by the female camp followers, to whose vindictive fury the Egyptian prisoners were abandoned. From this time forward any intermingling of courtesy or sociability with hostilities was superseded—at least amongst all but the highest classes—by virulent enmity.

Still, the inferiority in point of numbers of the Christians to the army watching their every move, prevented any serious attack upon the town, and induced a prohibition on the part of the King and of the crusading leaders—the Landgrave of Thuringia and the Comte d'Avesnes, who alternately held the command of the Europeans—to fight, or even quit the intrenched camp, without orders. This the inferior Crusaders considered as sheer

cowardice; they had come to fight, and fight they would. Their pertinacious disobedience in breaking out for desultory skirmishes, without knights for officers, cost thousands of lives; and, with the burning of the military engines by either naphtha or Greek fire, thrown upon them from the walls, were the only incidents that diversified the spring months, passed in anxious expectation of the Emperor Frederic, but cheered by intelligence of his capture of Iconium.

In the course of the summer of 1190, bodies of Crusaders arrived; one from England, under Baldwin, Archbishop of of Canterbury, and Ralph Glanville, ex-Grand Justiciary, with an auxiliary troop from Scotland, others from France, under the Comte de Champagne, and from Germany, under the Duke of Austria. But, to countervail the satisfaction of such reinforcements, came the crushing tidings of the Emperor's death, and the consequent dispersion of the greater part of his army. Grievous indeed to Guy was the loss of the veteran Imperial Crusader, upon whom and his host he had so confidently relied, whose authority would have been undisputed, and whose arrival he was daily anticipating. Deeply did the calamity depress the spirits of the Germans already present, especially of the Landgrave who was even then in ill health; and thus perhaps enabled the Comte de Champagne, notwithstanding the superior rank of the Duke of Austria, to accomplish his object; to wit, monopolizing the command of the Europeans, upon the double plea of the numbers of French Crusaders in camp, and his own near relationship to both the expected kings;—his mother, being half-sister to both, as daughter of Lewis VII, by Elinor of Aquitaine. The mortification of being thus completely set aside, added to grief, personal and national, for the loss of his imperial uncle, increased the illness of the Landgrave; and, in testimony of the high esteem in which he was held by foe as by friend, Saladin sent to offer him the services of his own physician. The offer was civilly declined; whereupon for medical aid the Sultan substituted a present of delicacies, suited to the appetite of an invalid, with a leopard trained to hunting, for his pastime:—a piece of courtesy that is said to have excited great jealousy

amongst the French Crusaders. Ill, sad, and irritated, the Landgrave, abandoning the Holy Land, embarked for Europe; but landed in Cyprus for rest or refreshment; and there, in October, he died.

Guy conceived that the Duke of Swabia, with his 5000 men, the poor residue of the mighty host,—plenty at Antioch having again been abused, with the same noxious consequences as before—would be of most use to the common cause, by attacking the Mohammedans in that more northern region, and thus making a diversion in favour of the besiegers of Acre. But, if the King's strategy were good, his policy in the choice of a negotiator was not. He requested the Prince of Tyre,—whom he perhaps thought his rescue of him had made his friend,—as the Duke's kinsman, to visit, and concert with him such a plan of operations. Conrad readily undertook the mission; but if the accusation already whispered against him, of taking bribes from Saladin, were false, and improbable it then assuredly was, he bore little good will to the sovereign from whom he had wrested so considerable a portion of his dominions as the principality of Tyre, and studied his own interest in preference to the recovery of the kingdom. This interest he thought would be promoted by the presence of his imperial relation, as his supporter, in the camp; and accordingly, having gained Duke Frederic's esteem and friendship, upon the 8th of October he again appeared before Acre, accompanied by him and his German Crusaders. But, however judicious the baffled plan might have been, the presence of the Duke of Swabia in the camp was not without advantages. The command of the Germans and Italians was immediately transferred to the son of their deceased Emperor; and, though he claimed no authority over the French, his superior rank and high reputation gave him great influence over the Earl of Champagne; whilst, having no possible object save that for which the Crusade was organized, his authority was a check upon all selfish views —even upon Conrad's.

The dissentions in the camp increased nevertheless, and appear, more even than Saladin's army, to have impeded active measures against the town. The remainder of the

autumn was wasted in exploits of individual gallantry and irregular desultory fighting. Amongst the former, the assault of one of the castles commanding the mouth of the port may deserve mention. The Pisans, in whose squadron were some ships furnished with towers for attacking high walls, undertook the attempt upon this castle, in which the Duke of Austria joined them. He led the storming party, and led it so vigorously that, although severely wounded, he was on the summit of either the Pisan tower or the attacked castle, when the Greek fire was skilfully directed against the vessel bearing the former. It caught ship and tower, burned fiercely, and every hope of carrying the castle vanished. Leopold saw no chance for life but by leaping from his lofty position into the sea, and swimming to another bark. He did so, it is said,(143) covered with blood, his white sword-belt alone excepted: and, in memory of the feat, henceforward bore, as his coat of arms, a red shield obliquely traversed by a silver beam, or in field gules a fess argent.

As an instance of the desultory fighting may be mentioned, that a party of Crusaders, going forth without orders or leaders, surprised the quarters of Malek-el-Adel at meal time, putting him and his whole division to flight. But, instead of prosecuting their victory, they fell to plundering the tents, and eating and drinking what they found there, and were surprised in their turn by Saladin. He forbade giving quarter, and they would have been entirely cut to pieces, had not an English priest prevailed upon the Princes to lead out the army for their protection; when, as usual, the Saracens could not stand the charge of the European chivalry.

The horror of the Mohammedans at finding women in male attire amongst the slain has been mentioned. Such female warriors were numerous; and many, doubtless, were of the class of Archbishop Christian's brigade of amazons. But many were wives and daughters of spotless reputation, who had made the pilgrimage in the company of their natural protectors, and, in the fervour of crusading zeal, fought by their side. Of one of these it is recorded, that, being mortally wounded by an arrow from the wall, whilst diligently labouring with those employed to fill the

ditch of Acre (a measure indispensable to the advance of the moveable towers within reach of the walls), she entreated her husband to leave her corpse in the ditch, that, even after death, she might contribute to the success of the siege. Respecting another woman in the camp an anecdote is related, exhibiting Saladin in the truly chivalrous character that has made him a favourite hero of romance. A female Crusader one day rushed amidst the Saracen host, and flung herself at the Sultan's feet, exclaiming that her child had been stolen by his people, that she had heard he was merciful, and came to implore him to have pity upon a bereaved mother. He ordered the stolen child to be sought, purchased it of the captor, and restored it to the mother, whilst he wept in sympathy with her delirious joy. And this same man could order the massacre of prisoners who refused to apostatize! Could there be a stronger proof, that it really was then esteemed a religious duty to kill God's enemies,—holding as such all who worshipped God in a different form from the slayer?

Amidst such desultory warfare, autumn produced the marsh fever, already mentioned as habitual in the plain of Acre; and the disease swept away, in addition to thousands of ordinary crusaders, personages whose deaths complicated the existing dissentions. These were Queen Sibylla and her children. Conrad at once accused Guy of poisoning them; without however adducing, either any ground of suspicion, or any conceivable motive for the perpetration of a crime as suicidal as it would have been revolting, a crime destructive of all the hopes and views of the accused. More rationally, he argued that Guy, having been King only as husband of the Queen, could, after her death, have no pretension to the crown, which devolved to the next heir; and this heir, Sibylla having left no child, was her half-sister Isabel. Guy and his partisans, on the other hand, alleged that, having once been crowned, he could never more be deprived of the rights and the dignity that ceremony had given him.(143*) But let not Conrad be supposed to have had any intention of playing the gratuitous champion of legitimacy. Far from proposing to dethrone Guy in order to seat Isabel's husband, Humphrey

de Thoron, in his place, he appears to have for some time projected supplanting the latter in that capacity, and then advancing her claim, as Amalric's only legitimate child, against Sibylla, whose death merely facilitated the scheme. Over the giddy and, judging from her conduct, heartless Princess he had acquired unbounded influence, and now easily induced her to sue for a divorce, upon the plea that her nonage at the period of her nuptials precluded a valid consent on her part. A tribunal was found to pronounce the divorce, with the sanction, it is said, of the Patriarch, who, as has been seen, was not very scrupulous in such matters, but who certainly took no active part in this transaction. The sentence obtained, it was a Crusader, the Bishop of Beauvais, who married Conrad, the husband of a living Greek Princess, ([144]) to Isabel, the wife of a living Syro-Frank husband, whom she had acknowledged as such for years. The Archbishop of Canterbury, a person of more importance amongst the Crusaders, excommunicated all parties for such profanation of a sacrament.

Conrad and Isabel now assumed the titles of King and Queen of Jerusalem; Guy retained his of King; and of the Syro-Franks and the Crusaders, half adhered to the one, half to the other, of these contending candidates for the fragment of a kingdom. And where the right really lay, save with Isabel, it were hard to decide; Guy could have none, as a childless widower; Conrad none, not being the Queen's lawful husband. The pretensions of her real husband, Humphrey de Thoron, no one thought of; and ere long he, for a good round sum, sold his consent to the divorce. But his consent could only avail against his own right to redress, not to dissolve a sacrament.

It should seem, however, that Guy had far the largest half of both subjects and army; for so indignant was Conrad at the preference given to him, that he withdrew with Isabel to Tyre; and, if he did not absolutely break his engagement as to feeding the besiegers, he confined his supplies to that portion of the camp which was occupied by his own partisans, and even their necessities he became very remiss in supplying. Nor was this sin of omission all the army had to complain of relative to this

important matter, since he is accused of having detained at Tyre divers vessels freighted with corn for the market before Acre.

In consequence of these measures of Conrad's, aided by the usual impediments to winter navigation, especially during the infancy of the science, scarcity soon prevailed in the camp. It lasted from the end of November till February, becoming from day to day more terrible. The bakers' shops, or huts, were scenes of ever-recurring conflict, the purchasers actually fighting for the bread; whilst, upon the plea that these bakers were seeking to derive exorbitant profits from the general distress, even noble knights joined in plundering them. Valuable chargers were slaughtered for food; every kind of weed or animal, even the most disgusting reptiles, were devoured. And so recklessly did whoever obtained anything eatable satisfy his ravenous appetite, that one very unexpected result of the famine was, at its close, the imposing of almost general penances for non-observance of Church fasts. Extremity of hunger seduced many Crusaders into apostacy. For bread, they offered their services to Saladin, who was constantly well supplied from the country in his rear, and from Egypt by sea; a road to him, master of almost all the seaports of Palestine, ever open. He equipped vessels for these renegades, and, as pirates, they inflicted heavy losses upon their former friends, helping the famine; but the Sultan is averred, honourably, if inconsistently, to have refused his covenanted share of the booty when offered him. The sufferings of the besiegers were still on the increase, when, upon the 2d of February, 1191, a ship loaded with grain entered the bay, and the measure of corn, which the preceding day could hardly be procured for one hundred gold pieces, was offered for four.

The famine had, as usual, been accompanied by a fearful increase of the epidemic, which often carried off as many as a hundred victims in a day. Amongst these were knights, prelates, earls, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and superior to all these in importance, the Duke of Swabia, who died the 20th of January, 1191. But his brief sojourn in the camp before

Acre, besides being marked by several gallant feats of arms, left one, if not imperishable, yet durable monument; *viz.*, a new Order of Knights—the third Order already mentioned.(145)

The masters of the Lubeck and Bremen vessels, that had brought the Earl of Holstein and his crusaders to the camp before Acre, being touched with the seemingly neglected and helpless condition of the indigent sick and wounded there, made a tent with their spare sails, as a hospital for such as needed the accommodation. Duke Frederic upon his arrival, charmed with this act of Christian charity, afforded the sea-faring good Samaritans all the assistance in his power; in consequence of which they, at their departure, made over their hospital tent to his chaplains and chamberlains, and the little establishment was immediately enlarged. To the tent was now added a hut, with an adjoining wooden chapel, for the spiritual wants of the patients. Amongst those, who proffered their services as nurses in this hospital, were several members of a charitable institution at Jerusalem, that had perished when the Holy City was lost. This was a German hospital, founded by a married couple of German pilgrims, whose names history has unkindly neglected to preserve. They thought that the Knights Hospitalers, being mostly French and English, with a few Italians, devoted their cares too exclusively to compatriot sufferers. Hence they built at Jerusalem a hospital for German pilgrims solely, endowed it amply, dedicated it to the Virgin, and placed it under the jurisdiction of the Grand-Master of St. John. Duke Frederic was as much delighted with the account given him of this German hospital of St. Mary, as he had been with the active charity of the Bremen and Lubeck sailors, and conceived the idea of blending the two into a German institution of Knights Hospitalers, who, under the rather long-winded name of the Order of the German House of our Lady at Jerusalem, might emulate the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The idea took; German knights offered themselves for the twofold duties of champions and nurses of pilgrims, from amongst whom Heinrich von Walpot was selected as Grand-Master. Frederic, besides liberally supplying the present wants of the new Order,

endowed it with Mühlhausen in his own duchy, secured for it the patronage of his brother Henry VI, and obtained from Celestin III—who had now succeeded to Clement III, in St. Peter's Chair—the Papal sanction indispensable to its recognised existence. To this pontiff, the constitution of the new Order, in which those of the Templars and Hospitalers were virtually blended, was submitted and by him highly approved. This Order adopted, as its distinctive garb, a white cloak with a black cross, and, overlooking if not discarding the before-mentioned verbose title, its members are designated indifferently the Marians, or the Teutonic Knights. The historians of the Order say the Marians early acquired their reputation;(146) and German writers ascribe the absence of all mention of them in the chronicles of Richard Cœur de Lion's Crusade, to their resentment of his treatment of the Duke of Austria (147) (of which hereafter) and consequent resolution not to serve under the English monarch. That a degree of German nationality existed in the Middle Ages, very different from the narrow patriotism now severing Brandenburg, for instance, from Austria, there is no doubt. But without having recourse to it relatively to an offence relegated by many writers, and by probability, to the latter end of Richard's Crusade, this silence is abundantly explained by the infancy of the Order at that time. French, English, and Syro-Frank chroniclers might well confuse the few Marians with the Hospitalers, their prototype: and in fact the expression of "early acquired their reputation" refers to the following century, when their fourth, really great, Grand-Master, Hermann von Salza, completed the institution of the Teutonic Knights, and, as will be seen, led them to fame. This monument of Frederic of Swabia's piety and charity subsisted till involved in the sweeping destruction of continental institutions wrought by the French revolution, and the Emperor Napoleon I.

There is a report, too unlikely to be believed, but which should be mentioned, and which, in date, must precede the arrival of the crusading Kings. It is, that, at one period of the siege, Acre, being distressed, offered to capitulate, upon condition of the garrison and inhabitants

being permitted to depart unmolested with their moveable property; that Guy was eager to recover so important a place so easily; but that the Crusaders, who wanted to have the sacking of the wealthy town, and Conrad, bribed by Saladin, prevented the granting of these terms. When Conrad's intriguing negotiations with Saladin began, is not certain; but even were they already a-foot, and were the tale otherwise credible, it would not be necessary to accuse the Prince of Tyre of the meanness of taking bribes to betray the Christian cause, since enmity to Guy would have been motive strong enough to induce him to oppose whatever was beneficial to the rival King. But that Acre, under the Sultan's very eye, should dream of capitulating until compelled by irresistible necessity, is utterly unimaginable.

CHAPTER II.

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

GUY—ISABEL AND CONRAD—ISABEL AND HENRY.

Conclusion of Third Crusade—Arrival of Philip Augustus—Richard's Capture of Cyprus—Arrival in Palestine—Capture of Acre—Departure of Philip Augustus—Richard's Campaigns—Murder of Conrad—Isabel's third Marriage—Rescue of Joppa—Treaty with Saladin. [1191—1192.

THE siege of Acre proceeded, but the want of a Commander-in-Chief was deeply felt, none of the crusading princes combining the requisite qualifications for that office, military experience and reputation, with high station; whilst Guy, since Sibylla's death and the contention for the royal authority, scarcely retained a shadow of power. Impatiently was the arrival of the Kings of France and England expected. The 18th of April, 1191, brought the first named monarch; but the very small accession of numerical strength that came with him (six ships contained his whole army) cruelly disappointed the hopes that had been entertained. Philip Augustus at once involved himself in the feuds dividing and embroiling both camp and kingdom, by adopting the cause of his relation, Conrad of Montferrat, who hurried from Tyre to the camp, in order to secure his support.

Richard's voyage had been variously delayed; first by a storm, that dispersed the English fleet, next by the consequent necessity of re-collecting the scattered vessels. Whilst, for this purpose, successfully visiting Crete and Rhodes, he learned that some of his ships, amongst others that which bore the keeper of his signet, had been wrecked off the coast of Cyprus and plundered by the Cypriots; who, murdering many, had made prisoners of more, of the sailors and crusaders, as, exhausted and defenceless, they

reached the shore. He learned further, that vessels of his, having put into the Cypriot harbour of Limasol for shelter, the passengers had been invited to land, and similarly made prisoners.

Cyprus was then governed by a prince named Isaac, a descendant by females of the Comneni, who, by means of forged documents, had possessed himself of the sovereign authority there, whilst Andronicus was seizing the throne at Constantinople. He entitled himself Emperor of Cyprus, proved a worse tyrant than even the Constantinopolitan usurper, and was yet more detested by his subjects than by the Syro-Franks, to whom he was as troublesome a neighbour as a nest of pirates could have been; intercepting, plundering and imprisoning crusaders and pilgrims who ventured within his reach.([148]) The ill-usage of Richard's Crusaders was not the crime of popular lawlessness, but inflicted by his positive command.

The Lion-heart was not the man to overlook such conduct; he steered directly for Limasol, where he found the bark to which he had intrusted his sister and his bride, lying off the mouth of the harbour. He hastened on board, and learned from their lips the subsequent transactions there. The bold Crusaders who had been entrapped had broken prison, had, with two or three weapons, which they had managed to secrete when captured, defeated the multitude of their guards, achieved their liberty, and rejoined their ship. Isaac had thereupon disavowed the unsuccessful outrage, and endeavoured, by the most courteous messages to lure the two princesses on shore. They, fearing to trust themselves in his power, had declined his invitations: whereupon, in his exasperation at being thus foiled, he had ordered the captives taken from the wrecks to be executed. The perpetration of this fresh atrocity had been prevented by the tumultuary opposition of the people, and the Cypriot Emperor had now equipped four galleys to seize the ship containing the Queen and Princess.

The King of England immediately sent to demand from the Emperor of Cyprus the restitution of the arms and other property taken from the English Crusaders. An answer of supercilious defiance was returned; and Richard,

with a moderation wholly unexpected, sent two more demands for redress, when his messengers were not even suffered to land; and now he gave his anger the reins. Manning his boats, he in them attacked the large armed vessels guarding the entrance of the inner harbour; and the crews, instead of attempting resistance, threw themselves into the sea to escape from the Lion-heart and his Englishmen. The assailants landed; and the troops, headed by Isaac, fled with equal headlong precipitation. His horses being yet afloat, the King could not pursue them; but he occupied Limasol, and established his sister and his bride in the palace of him, whose prisoners they had so nearly been. The next day, his horses were brought on shore, and he proceeded to seek, engage, and defeat the Cypriot army, that Isaac had now assembled in numbers far superior to his small band. Isaac took refuge in Nicosia, and, leaving him blockaded there, Richard returned, laden with booty and prisoners, to Limasol.

During these operations, more and more of the English fleet had gradually made the harbour, where the King was by this time known to have landed, and he was joined by more of his troops. At Limasol, he was likewise visited by Guy; who, seeing his rival's interest adopted by the King of France, felt himself lost unless he could secure the favour of the King of England. The Lusignans, as before said, appear to have been distantly related to the Queen-mother Elinor, whose vassals they were; and Richard, frankly forgiving the rebellious acts that had forced both brothers, Guy and Geoffrey, to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land, at once recognised as King of Jerusalem, him, as whose ally in that character he had left Europe, even as though the death of the Queen made no change in his position. Guy had brought with him his brother Geoffrey, the Grand-Master of the Hospital, the Princes of Antioch and Tripoli, a son of the Prince of Armenia, Isabel's repudiated husband, and some other Palestine magnates. In their presence, Richard, Lent being now over, solemnized his marriage with Berengaria; and his guests accompanied him in the short campaign, that ensued in Cyprus. Isaac, terrified at Richard's

power, first sued for peace, and through the mediation of the Grand-Master obtained it; then, in a fit of offended arrogance, broke it; whereupon he was again attacked, completely vanquished, and made prisoner. The Cypriots now gladly hastened to tender their homage and allegiance to Richard, who took possession of the island as his conquest: which the Greek historian Nicetas, as well as Frank chroniclers, holds to have been the happiest possible event for Palestine. In fact, during the remainder of the Crusade, the army was fed from that island. Richard now appointed an Anglo-Norman Governor of Cyprus, with whom he left sufficient garrison, sent Isaac, in the custody of one of his Chamberlains, to Tripoli in Syria,(149) placed his only child, a daughter, amongst Berengaria's ladies, partly for education, partly as a captive, and set sail for Acre. Again Berengaria and Joanna performed the voyage in a separate vessel; the object clearly being, that Richard might be free to seize any opportunity of fighting that should offer.

The English fleet, consisting of twenty-five sail, first made Tyre; where, in accordance with Conrad's prospective orders, upon the futile plea that Richard designed to take Tyre, as he had taken Cyprus, he was refused admittance; he therefore uninterruptedly prosecuted his voyage to Acre. By the way he fell in with a prodigiously large Saracen ship, under French colours, detected the fraud, and attacked her. She was defended with admirable courage; and the Greek fire terrified the English sailors, who had never before seen it; but Richard's firmness prevailed. Her captain, when he despaired of saving, strove to sink her. In vain! She was taken, and proved to be bound for Acre, laden with provisions, arms, the ingredients of which the Greek fire was compounded, and some barrels filled with the most venomous snakes, destined to be flung into the besiegers' camp.(150) The capture of this ship was accepted by both parties as an omen; depressing the garrison of Acre, and even Saladin, as much as it delighted the besiegers.

Upon the 8th of June, Richard landed, and found the siege still languishing, notwithstanding Philip's arrival. The filling of the ditch was still in progress; and the chief

occupation of the French King, who averred that not to rob Richard, of this share of the glory of taking Acre, he had waited for him, had hitherto been putting the machines constructed in Sicily in order, and erecting for himself a stone mansion, proof against the weapons of the age. This house was situated opposite to the Acre castle named *la Maudite*, and was in its turn called *Malvoisin*.

From the hour of Richard's landing, dissentions arose between the royal Crusaders: and so contradictory are the accounts given by French and English historians, that the only chance of eliciting the truth, lies in comparing the several statements with the respective characters of the supposed actors; and even so, and at this distance of time, it may not be easy to avoid a tinge of partiality. Richard was the very impersonation of the feudal chivalry of his day, as Frederic Barbarossa of that of some half century earlier; and in judging of his probable conduct it must ever be borne in mind that the unbounded admiration which his excellence in all knightly exercises, and his proficieney in the *gai saber* commanded, would naturally render him self-willed, and likely in every way, except by artifice, or by declining an opportunity of doing battle, to offend a rival. Philip, on the other hand, was more admired as a politic and successful monarch, than as a knight; and in those days, as long after them, almost to our own times, craft was deemed an essential element of policy. That it was so esteemed by Philip, one instance will sufficiently prove; which, as he did but appear in Palestine to vanish again, must be taken from his acts in France. A Brabançon corps—the employment of such mercenaries became daily more general—having mutinied for their pay, which was greatly in arrear, he appointed them to meet him at Bourges, where he would satisfy their demands. Bourges was then occupied by French troops in numbers infinitely superior to the Brabançons; and there these French troops, as Philip had pre-arranged, fell by surprise upon his unprepared creditors, disarmed them, and robbing them even of their horses, drove them penniless, helpless, nearly naked, out of the town.[151] And this *politic* monarch, naturally jealous of a vassal more powerful than

his suzerain, felt himself eclipsed as well by that vassal's brilliant and impetuous valour,(152) as by his wealth. Philip had offered three gold pieces to every poor knight who would engage in his service. Crusaders who had dissipated their own resources caught at such offers—Richard gave four, and Philip was deserted for him who paid better. Richard, however, generally rejected those whom he knew to have previously accepted the French King's offers, or to be in treaty with him. For his nephew, Henry of Champagne, he made an exception. This Earl, finding his means exhausted, had applied for assistance to his uncle Philip, who offered him a loan upon mortgage of Champagne. The nephew said, "I have done my duty in applying first to my liege Lord;" and had recourse to his English uncle, who supplied him freely with what he wanted.(153)

Immediately upon his rival's landing, the French King produced his engines, announced his purpose of battering the walls preparatory to storming the town, and summoned the English King to co-operate in both measures. Richard returned for answer, that the ships freighted with his battering train were not yet arrived, and that he, individually, disabled by the still prevailing epidemic—of which the Earl of Flanders had just died—could not then rise from his bed. Philip made the attack without him, and was repulsed, with loss of many lives and of much machinery, destroyed by the Greek fire. This is the English account; the French version is, that Richard, then in good health, his illness beginning subsequently, promised all co-operation and failed; thus, either of *malice prepense*, or capriciously, causing Philip's discomfiture.

This disaster, however caused, superadded to previous quarrels, gave birth to ill blood and recriminations that embittered the dissensions, respecting points really in dispute betwixt the Kings. These were two; namely, the conflicting claims of Guy and Conrad to the kingdom of Jerusalem; and the pretensions advanced by Philip to half the island of Cyprus,—as previously in Sicily to half Messina—in virtue of the convention by which all crusading acquisitions—looking probably beyond the recovery of Palestine to conquests from Mohammedans—were to be

shared equally. Both these disputes necessarily embarrassed the conduct of the war. The first deprived the besiegers of the assistance of Conrad, who, challenged by Geoffrey de Lusignan to test his pretensions by a judicial combat, had refused, and again retired to Tyre. The second, exacerbating the rivalry of the crusading monarchs, was still more inconvenient. To Philip's demand, Richard replied that Cyprus was no crusading acquisition, but an accidental conquest, made in punishing an abominable outrage offered to his own family and vassals; nevertheless, if Philip would give him half his recent acquisitions, pecuniary in Syria, and landed in Europe—upon the death of the Earl of Flanders, Philip, as suzerain, had seized his money, and claimed many of his Flemish fiefs as lapsed to the crown—half of Cyprus was much at his service. Neither King was disposed to accept a compromise, and no means of conciliation could be devised.

But if the ill-will existing between the royal Crusaders prevented positive co-operation, it likewise produced an emulation in some measure compensating that evil. Philip built new engines, and repeated his unsuccessful assaults. Richard's battering train, as soon as landed, was brought into action; and he, whilst still unable to stand, was carried to the scene of danger, and there laid upon cushions, that his presence might animate, whilst his judgment directed the exertions of his troops. And even in this debilitated condition, he added to the general's part, the soldier's, so much more congenial to his temperament. From his cushions, he, with his crossbow, mortally wounded two Saracens upon the walls, one of whom was pranking in the armour of a French Knight, slain in one of Philip's unsuccessful attacks; the other deliberately defiling a crucifix. Richard's machines are said to have been more ingeniously contrived than Philip's, and securely protected against the destructive Greek fire; but his assaults were equally unsuccessful. During the earlier part of this time, his impatience of the inactivity, unavoidably caused by disease, was relieved by an interchange of messages and courtesies with Saladin; who, hearing of his illness, as in the case of the Landgrave, sent presents of fruits and delicacies adapted to his con-

dition. Richard, charmed with so chivalrous an enemy, made overtures for an interview, which the more cautious Sultan declined whilst they were at war.

Richard gradually recovered; and now the siege, after lingering on for two years, assumed a character of vigorous activity, that by the 4th of July, drove Karakush, the Commandant of Acre, to propose a capitulation. The proposal was entertained; but he demanded terms to which neither Richard nor Philip would listen. Various stipulations for the surrender of Acre were then, on either side, suggested and rejected. Amongst others, Saladin is averred to have offered the restitution of the whole of Palestine, except a few southern fortresses, indispensable to the safe communication between Cairo and Damascus, if the two Kings would aid him with their whole force to subdue Kotbeddin, a still refractory nephew of Noureddin's, reigning beyond the Euphrates. This mode of attaining the object for which they were in arms, was probably deemed inconsistent with their crusading vow and character; since the offer, if really made—a startling one from so zealous a Mussulman—was not closed with. The negotiations went on, and so did the assaults; the last being led by the Earl of Leicester and the Bishop of Salisbury on the 11th. Though repulsed, it apparently determined Karakush to surrender upon whatever terms he could obtain.

The next day, July 12th, he therefore agreed, upon condition of the lives of the garrison and of the inhabitants being spared, to deliver up the city, with all its arms, wealth, and provisions, and also the ships in port; to pay a sum of 200,000 bezaunts as ransom for their lives; and to procure the restitution of the True Cross, together with the release of a certain number of prisoners—it should seem of 250 knights, and 2,500 common men; but authorities differ both as to the numbers, and as to the precise time within which all this was to be performed. The Emirs and part of the garrison were to remain, as hostages for the fulfilment of these stipulations, in the hands of the two Kings, and at their mercy, should the Sultan reject the terms of the capitulation. This provision appears very strange, when it is recollected that the

Sultan was close at hand, and of course still in communication with Acre by signal,—his own proposal might not particularly refer to Acre—and suspicion that he did not chuse to be consulted upon the matter, involuntarily intrudes itself. For we are told that after the capitulation had been not only concluded but executed, as far as was in the power of Karakush, the indignant Saladin was disposed to reject the terms, had not his Mollahs so earnestly represented the danger to which he would thus expose all Moslem prisoners of the Christians, as to prevent his actually so doing. But that he never ratified the capitulation seems equally certain, and whether he in any way, ever formally assented to, or recognised it, is still a question. The whole transaction is indeed involved in considerable obscurity. Conrad, who, at the request of the French monarch, had returned to the camp and negotiated the arrangement, being accused of having bargained with either Karakush or Saladin himself for a pecuniary remuneration of his pains; whilst it is self-evident that, had he been bribed, he would not have extorted concessions which the briber, if the Commandant, doubted his master's sanctioning, if the Sultan, could hardly be induced even tacitly to admit.

The two Kings, as though Acre were one of their conquests to be shared, not a city of the King of Jerusalem's recovered for him, entered the town with their own troops, excluding all others, hoisted their own flags, divided the booty between themselves, and occupied, Philip, the Preceptory of the Templars, Richard, the Castle. They justified such autocratical proceedings by the uncertainty as to who really *was* the King of Jerusalem, which must be ascertained ere Acre could be given up to him. The Duke of Austria was, like all other vassal princes, of course excluded from any partnership with the monarchs; and it is exceedingly doubtful, whether he advanced any pretension to share with them, or to place his banner beside theirs. If he did, there can be no doubt that Philip, as well as Richard, would contemptuously reject it, though the former, it may be presumed, would manage to throw the active and offensive part of the rejection upon the latter. Yet do German historians, even of the present

day, forgetting that the vassal Duke of Austria of the twelfth century held a very different station from the Dukes of Austria, hereditary German Emperors, of later times, and taking no notice of the French King, state the Duke's exclusion as an assumption of superiority, so unwarranted as to justify the hatred borne by Leopold the Virtuous to Richard Cœur de Lion; ([154]) who, they assert, ordered the Austrian flag to be dragged in the mire, in spiteful jealousy of Leopold, as a rival in "deeds of derring do." The question of the cause of Leopold's hatred, for which divers are assigned, will be more properly discussed, when the others, as suggested, occur.

At Acre both Kings were occupied during the remainder of July in negotiating with the Saracens, in settling conflicting claims to property, of Christians—fugitives, or expelled whilst the city had been under Moslem rule—now returning; and in investigating and pronouncing between the more important conflicting claims of the rival pretenders to the kingdom.

Judges were appointed to examine the first class of uncertain pretensions, and restore all property to which a right could be clearly established; when the potent Venetians found no difficulty in recovering their portion of Acre. With respect to the kingdom, the claim of Guy, supported by the Hospitalers, Venetians, and Pisans, and that of Conrad maintained by the Templars, had been previously referred to the two Kings and their Baronage, and the decision by them postponed until Acre should be taken. This decision, to which both rivals were pledged to submit, was now pronounced. It ordained that Guy should be King for his life, Isabel, with Conrad, or their children, succeeding at his death, and that during his life the revenue derived from crown domains, royalties, &c., should be equally divided between them; Conrad meanwhile holding Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, as an hereditary, vassal principality. To Geoffrey de Lusignan were similarly assigned the counties of Joppa and Ascalon, of which he was to receive investiture, as was Conrad of his principality, in guerdon of their valour and their services, both doing homage to Guy. With the exception of Tyre, neither grant could be very beneficial to the grantee, until

the territories granted should be recovered from Saladin, in whose possession they then were. Upon the 27th of July, both Guy and Conrad bound themselves by oath in the prescribed form, to observe these terms. Saladin is reported to have, during these transactions, renewed his offer of restoring Palestine, in consideration, of effective aid against Kotbeddin; and Kotbeddin, on his part, to have offered to turn Christian, with all his subjects, as the price of an alliance offensive and defensive against Saladin. Neither offer was positively accepted or rejected, and the negotiations lingered. Nor were the clashing proposals the only matters that diversified the royal deliberations.

A week before the sentence was pronounced, the Duke of Burgundy, the Bishop of Beauvais, and two French Earls waited upon the King of England on the part of the King of France. They appeared from excessive agitation unable to speak, and Richard noticing their distress, thus addressed them: "I know your errand. The King your master intends to go home, and you come to ask my opinion on the subject." The envoys replied: "Gracious Lord, you know all. We do indeed come to inform you of this resolution, and to ask your opinion thereon. Our Liege Lord the King of France is persuaded that he cannot longer remain here without peril to his life." Richard rejoined: "Doubtless to quit the Holy Land without fulfilling his vow, must brand King Philip himself and his kingdom with shame ineffaceable; but if he believes that a sojourn here would be his death, I shall not oppose his departure. Let him do what he and his people think fit."

French writers generally ascribe this abrupt determination of Philip's to a dreadful illness, caused, as he supposed, by poison administered at Richard's instigation, and to mistrust of Richard's good faith, awakened by his intercourse with Saladin. Generally, but not without exceptions; Bernardus Thesaurarius, believed to have been a Frenchman, and evidently a French partisan, admitting impatience to seize Flemish fiefs as one strong motive; and amongst moderns, Michaud, allowing that he affected fears which he did not feel. English writers impute it partly to jealousy of Richard's superior celebrity, and consequent

greater weight with both Christians and Mohammedans; but more to impatience to seize upon Flanders, and to try whether, in Richard's absence, he could not, by disregarding their reciprocal oaths of forbearance, and the especial protection and guarantee assured by the Church, to the property, real and personal, of all Crusaders, possess himself of some of the English King's French dominions. Richard himself suspected the influence of the last suggested motive; for he required and obtained from Philip, a renewed oath to respect both his possessions, and those of every Crusader, during not only the absence of their respective sovereigns, but also for forty days after the return of such sovereigns. He then, in proof of reconciliation and amity, complied with the French King's request for the loan of two ships to take him home. Two sufficed, a body of French Crusaders, amounting to 500 knights and 1000 foot, remaining in Palestine under the command of the Duke of Burgundy. With the Duke, Philip left such of the Acre prisoners as fell to his share, assigning his half of the Acre ransom, for which they were hostages, as the fund out of which was to be defrayed the expense of the troops remaining in Palestine; and who were even then in so destitute a condition, that the Duke of Burgundy was almost immediately obliged to request the loan of 10,000 marks from Richard for their support. It was as immediately advanced him.

Upon the 30th of July, the King of France, after a stay of between three and four months, embarked for Europe. He first visited Tyre; whither Conrad accompanied him, and where he seems to have deposited, as a check probably upon the Duke of Burgundy, part if not all of his Moslem prisoners; and proceeded on his voyage. He landed at Otranto, in continental Sicily, and repaired to Rome. There he so satisfied Celestin III of the validity of his reasons for returning after this very imperfect performance of his vow, that he obtained a release from his obligations as a Crusader, and palm branches for himself and suite, as if those obligations had been fully discharged. But the dispensation from his oath to respect Richard's dominions during the Crusade, which the general opinion of even German writers, hos-

tilely disposed to Richard,(155) charges him with soliciting, on the plea that his sister was not yet sent home, the Pope positively refused him. From Rome, Philip traversed Italy and Savoy to France, with a safe conduct from Henry VI.

We now come to one of those transactions which it is difficult to reconcile to modern notions of the chivalrous character; and yet more difficult to palliate to modern feelings, by recollecting that such were not the feelings of the 12th century. When the time prefixed for the full execution of the terms of capitulation granted to Acre arrived, Saladin had only part of the ransom-money, with part of the Christian prisoners, and those of the lowest grade, ready for delivery. Whether the True Cross was or was not forthcoming, is another of the points upon which historians, modern as well as old, disagree. It seems pretty certain that Saladin neither declared that he had not the Cross to restore, as those writers who hold that it was buried at Hittin, and so lost, assert; (156) nor refused to sanction, by restoring it, what he deemed idolatry, as has been alleged by others; actually destroying it to prevent the possibility of such an offence. Saladin's views upon the subject could not be known to the Crusaders or their Chroniclers, and the Relic being of no value in Moslem eyes, information could hardly be hoped from Oriental historians; nevertheless the subject is mentioned by two. Bohaeddin states both that the True Cross was found at Hittin, and that Saladin had it ready for delivery. He even says that the Sultan caused it to be shewn to two English negotiators, whose adoration of it amazed the Mohammedans.(157) And this biographer of his friend is surely the best authority as to Saladin's acts. When the negotiation so disastrously broke off upon the question of prisoners, the True Cross would of course be withheld, and in the end, probably, lost.(158) According to Vinisauf, it was exhibited to some of the Crusaders, who visited Jerusalem as pilgrims, when the Crusade had ended in a truce; though he himself was not one of the fortunate party; but there could be no difficulty in finding a Cross to satisfy the pilgrims of those days.

To return from a subject upon which nothing certain is or can be known, to the painful negotiation, followed by a

more painful catastrophe. Saladin required an extension of the time fixed for the delivery of the prisoners and the payment of the money. This Richard once or twice granted, and seems to have been willing again to concede, receiving the part then ready as an instalment; but he insisted upon keeping all his hostages—a few who had escaped excepted —until the terms of the capitulation should be completely executed. Saladin, on the other hand, required the release of all the hostages, or at least of a large majority of them, to be selected by himself, before he would part with the Cross, one prisoner, or one gold piece; whilst Conrad, expecting to obtain a heavy ransom for the hostages Philip had left with him, and perhaps mistrustful of Saladin's intending to fulfil his officer's engagements, refused to part with those in his hands, even for exchange, according to the treaty he himself had negotiated. Some bargaining and haggling went on through agents; some personal interviews for discussion were arranged; but at these neither the Sultan nor any person in his name appeared. For the first fault in this deplorable business, Saladin—whom even Moslem historians have suspected of seeking to evade conditions which he disapproved(159)—is therefore clearly responsible; for the horrible consequences of that fault, Richard and the whole Crusading Council, but yet more the unchristian opinions of the age influencing them. Richard, and the Council of leaders of the different nations, now sent Saladin word that they would give him ten days more to redeem his officer's plighted word; but if then the terms of the capitulation were still unfulfilled, the hostages must be put to death. To this message, Saladin replied, that if the hostages were touched he would dreadfully retaliate.(160) When the last period fixed for the execution of the terms of capitulation expired, without a step on Saladin's part that way tending, Richard brought his hostages, to the number, variously stated, of from 1750 to 8000, but, according to the most authentic accounts, of 2500, or 2700, into the vicinity of the Sultan's camp, and again demanded the fulfilment of the engagements entered into. Again he received no satisfaction; whereupon Richard, who rarely if ever punished treason against himself with death, merely, like Frederic Barbarossa, destroying towns

and castles—Richard ordered these defenceless hostages to be put to the sword.([161])

Some writers have averred, that the Duke of Burgundy wrung from the Prince of Tyre some portion of the French share of hostages, others that he gave or sold to the King prisoners of his own, to swell the amount, and that these were simultaneously sacrificed within Acre. But the more general opinion is that only those belonging to Richard perished; and the rumour is chiefly noticeable as it demonstrates the tone of mediæval feeling upon the subject. Hardly any one dreamt of imputing the deed to cruelty or unbridled passion. Of contemporary Christian writers, the Bishop of Cremona stands almost alone in censuring this fearful carnage; ([162]) the rest of Europe admired the disinterested piety that sacrificed the immense ransom the prisoners might have paid, and blamed the mercenary temper of Philip or Conrad, who, for thirst of lucre kept their prisoners back. And Richard himself, in a letter to the Abbot of Clairvaux, narrating the transaction, says, "*Sicut decuit* 2500 *fecimus expirare.*"([163]) Moslem writers, indeed,—to whom the immolation of the Templars and Hospitalers seemed not merely unobjectionable, but a praiseworthy deed, inspired by devotion—speak of this, its exaggerated counterpart, with due horror;([164]) ascribing it partly to revenge for the great loss on the Christian side during the siege—the deaths have been estimated at 120,000—and partly to a politic fear of leaving so many prisoners at Acre when the army should remove.

With respect to Saladin's conduct throughout the transaction, one report is, that, exasperated at Richard's insisting upon the complete fulfilment of the conditions, he had slain many, if not all the Christian prisoners brought prior to the slaughter of the hostages for exchange; and this is supposed to be implied by Bohaeddin's remark that "Richard perhaps used the right of retaliation." But the expression might refer to the slaughter of the Templars and Hospitalers. That the Sultan was deeply grieved, was uncontrollably exasperated by the massacre of the hostages, all True Believers and his own subjects, there is no doubt; nor would his exasperation be softened by the consciousness that he was himself the cause, by his non-execution of his

own officer's capitulation. As little doubt is there, that in the first burst of his wrath he forbade the giving quarter to Christians for the future, and ordered those Christians, who were hoping for liberty, to be put to death.([165]) Many suffered in consequence of this mandate, ere he had time to cool. Then, repenting of these reprisals, he stopped the butchery, and sent the survivors to Damascus, to be there kept in slavery, till ransomed or advantageously exchanged.

Richard now planned his future operations; and, clearly perceiving that the recovery of the sea-coast must be the first step towards the re-establishment of the Kingdom, decided upon beginning with the siege of Ascalon. This design was announced—together with the day appointed for the army assembling, equipped for service. But, amidst the orgies of Acre, the bulk of the Crusaders had forgotten their vow. Only his own vassals, and the two Orders, answered to his call; even his offers of high pay could but partially counterbalance present pleasures; and, again and again, was the acknowledged Chief of the Crusade obliged to have the lingerers forcibly driven out of the town. At length, upon the 21st of August, he was able to set forward.

Upon this occasion, as well in the preliminary arrangements, as in the whole conduct of his projected operation, the Lion-heart displayed all the generalship which modern Germans deny him; it was indeed the generalship of the age, but the best of the age. He cleared his army of female camp-followers, with the exception of a very few to serve as washerwomen. He marched in regular divisions; the first, which he himself commanded, consisted of the English, the Normans, and his other French vassals, in whose centre was stationed his banner, in *Carroccio* style. A second division seems to have comprised the Germans and Italians, with the Syro-Franks, and the men of Poitou separated from the rest of Richard's vassals, probably that the King of Jerusalem, as a Lusignan, their countryman, might lead them. The Duke of Burgundy, with the French and Flemings, formed the third division; whilst the Templars and Hospitalers protected the front and the rear alternately. The Earl of Champagne, with the light troops, was on the

left of the whole line, near the hills. The route lay along the sea coast, to ensure the supply of provisions from the English fleet; and accordingly the troops never experienced any want, unless storms drove off the ships. Every night when the camp was pitched, the hour of rest was announced by the cry of "Help! Help! Holy Sepulchre!" ([166]) which a Herald thrice repeated, and the whole army re-echoed in chorus.

Saladin, considerably to the left of the Earl, kept the Christian army in sight, marching among or along the side of the hills, out of reach of the dreaded charge of their heavily armed cavalry, whilst, with his clouds of light horse, he incessantly harassed them; skirmishing, cutting off stragglers and baggage, and watching his opportunity for more serious attacks. Richard, his object being to reach Ascalon in unbroken force, controlled his natural eagerness for action, and carefully avoided an engagement; for which, as much as for his knight-errant-like love of adventure, he has been censured by his modern French and German detractors, who impute his forbearance to indifference with regard to the success or failure of the Crusade.

Saladin's incessant harassings afforded Richard some compensation for his self-denial. Though the brunt of the battle generally fell upon the two Orders, wherever a blow was struck, there the Lion-heart was found, often by his individual prowess deciding the fate of the day. And so gallantly did des Barres, who would not return home with Philip, support him in these encounters—especially once, when the French division seemed irretrievably lost, till rescued by the King and his former antagonist, and once, when Richard himself was alone in the midst of the enemy—that he actually gained his especial favour. The most serious of these encounters took place at Arsuf, on the 7th of September, when the impatience of the Hospitalers baffled Richard's efforts either to avoid an action, or to delay it until the whole of Saladin's force should be so fully brought out against them, as to prevent their disappointing, as usual, by their light activity, the Crusaders' charge. In this battle, in which Jacques d'Avesnes fell overpowered by numbers, and the Duke of Burgundy owed his escape from a similar fate solely to

Richard's own arm, even the detractors of the chivalrous King allow that to his personal exploits was the victory, gained by 100,000 Christians over 300,000 Mohammedans, mainly due.

This defeat appears to have finally convinced Saladin that his troops were no more able to cope with the Crusaders in the field, than to defend fortresses against them; the latter being moreover a duty to which the fate of the Acre garrison had rendered his Emirs and warriors, even his Mamelukes, averse. He resolved, therefore, to guard against the evils that must ensue from Richard's making a stronghold of Ascalon, by sacrificing the place he so highly valued; and, with expressions of deep regret, he ordered it to be not only dismantled but destroyed. This was done, whilst the Christian army halted amidst the ruins of Joppa for rest and refreshment upon so arduous a march. The object of the movement was now annihilated, and a new plan of campaign had therefore to be formed; when Richard, apparently in concurrence with all entitled to be consulted, resolved that Ascalon, become insignificant, must be neglected, but Joppa restored and fortified, as a support both to their own operations and to those of all future Crusaders: and when this was accomplished the army should advance upon Jerusalem.

But repairing fortresses, for the defence of the not yet recovered Holy Land, was a very dull mode of discharging the crusading vow; and such numbers, disliking the task, returned to their Acre revels, that Richard was obliged first to send Guy, and then to go himself to drive them back to the camp. Disgusted with their levity and insubordination, and under some apprehension from the intrigues of his brother John, and of his suzerain Philip, the English King now grew impatient to return home, and opened negotiations with the Sultan for a long truce, based upon some division of Palestine between Moslem and Christian, Saladin and Guy. But both parties insisting upon the possession of Jerusalem, the negotiation, by which Saladin only sought to gain time for strengthening the fortification of the Holy City, receiving reinforcements, and completing the demolitions he judged necessary, made little progress. That little became less, when Conrad

offered the Sultan his alliance against the Crusaders, provided Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus were assured to him.

Meanwhile, the restoration of Joppa being nearly complete, Richard determined to begin his movement upon Jerusalem. This was a measure to the taste of the Crusaders, and again they thronged to his standard. But, in order to maintain possession of the Holy City when recovered, it was indispensable to be master of its line of communication with the sea; and to this end Richard halted upon the road to repair two important fortresses, which the Sultan, conformably to his new scheme of defence, had razed. In consequence of this delay he was surprised by the winter; and, quartering his army as he best could in the position he had gained, he suspended his operations. The King relieved the dulness of this period of inaction by excursions of knight-errantry, or the chase, often idly exposing his person to danger. Upon one such occasion he escaped capture by a numerous troop of Saracens, only through the self-devotion of Guillaume des Preaux or des Pratelles—which is the name seems doubtful—who announcing himself as the King, gave his Liege Lord time to fly. The loyal pseudo-King was ransomed, and the army extorted from the true King a promise not again to incur such risks.

During all this time the negotiation was proceeding; and it was now that Richard, in his impatience to get the affairs of the Holy Land settled, and thus recover liberty to attend to his own, devised the strange compromise, if indeed it were not, as has been supposed, a mere jest, of giving his sister, the widowed Queen of Sicily, to Saladin's brother, Malek el Adel, in marriage; and then, the claims of Guy and of Isabel to the portion of Palestine in Saladin's possession alike set aside, making the newly united Moslem and Christian couple jointly King and Queen of Jerusalem. The scheme, if seriously projected, was foiled by Joanna's positive refusal to wed a Mohammedan.

In January the weather improved and again the army was in motion. But, by the time it had reached Baitnubah or Bethanopolis, about a day's march distant from their goal, Richard had listened to the expostulatory represen-

tations of the two Grand-Masters, and of the Palestine nobles, as to the utter impossibility of taking a city of which the defences, ever since it was menaced with a siege, had been diligently repaired and improved, in the very face of Saladin's army. Representations, enhanced by those of the unprejudiced Pisans, upon the further impossibility of keeping it if taken, unless more of the coast, and of the intervening district were in the hands of the Syro-Franks. He felt the weight of all these objections; and, reluctantly curbing his eagerness to be hailed as the second liberator of the Holy City, he resolved first to restore Ascalon, as he had restored Joppa.

The rage of the great body of the Crusaders at what they termed the abandonment of the sole object of the Crusade,[167] and their disgust at being again required to assist in the dull work of repairing the fortified towns, indispensable to the very possibility of a Christian kingdom of Jerusalem's existence, were actually boundless. The Duke of Burgundy now applied to Richard for a second loan; the first was still owing, and the bulk of the Crusaders had for some time subsisted chiefly upon English gold. The King declared himself unable to afford him further aid; whereupon the Duke announced his intention of no longer submitting to the arbitrary and absurd caprices of the English monarch, but returning, with all French Crusaders to France, at Easter. He at once quitted Ascalon; withdrawing to Tyre, whither he summoned, it is averred at its Prince's instigation, those French Crusaders who had remained in the camp, to follow him. Unwillingly they obeyed.

Nor was the Duke of Burgundy the only deserter from the Crusade; this being the epoch, fixed by most writers, for the Duke of Austria's abandonment of the Holy War. So fixed, even by some of those who refer the quarrel to the occupation of Acre; thus making the Duke serve under Richard, and receive pecuniary assistance from him, subsequent to an affront resented so deeply as to induce breach of oath, with disregard of Church law and Papal authority. Other writers place the offence later; some upon the just ended march to or from Baitnubah; when, they say, a quarrel occurred between

the King's servants and the Duke's, respecting a house that each party had selected for their master's nocturnal quarters; and the latter being rudely ejected, the King ordered the ducal banner, planted as a sign of appropriation, to be torn down and left in the dirt. A more likely story than the former. The third account, from accompanying circumstances the most likely of all, makes the quarrel more personal, and Ascalon its scene. Richard, in his ardour to despatch all that must be preliminary to the recovery of Jerusalem, endeavoured to encourage the reluctantly labouring Crusaders by labouring with them in person, at the restoration of Ascalon, as at Jerusalem Saladin had done, thus to expedite the completion of its defences. Vinisauf says, that Richard and his nobles habitually thus assisted in all necessary labours, as in building military engines, unloading ships that brought materials for their construction, and the like. But upon this pressing occasion he first required all the crusading leaders, princes and nobles, to follow his example. Most of those present at Ascalon readily and zealously complied; but the Duke of Austria, when invited to take his turn, sneeringly replied that his father was neither a mason nor a carpenter. The King, meeting him, repeated his demand that the Duke should do what he himself had done; and received a repetition of the impertinent answer, when Richard's impetuous temper hurried him into forgetfulness of his own dignity, yet more than of the Duke's. He struck the Duke, whether with hand or foot seems doubtful, and forbade the appearance of the Austrian colours beside his. Leopold left the camp swearing vengeance.(168)

The first ships that arrived from Europe in 1192, brought Richard an earnest summons home from his vicegerent and Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, whom Prince John had driven out of England. The Lion-heart had looked to resuming the attempt upon Jerusalem when Ascalon should be restored; but these tidings, joined to the desertion of the French and Austrians, changed his plans. He assembled the Crusading leaders and the Palestine magnates, made known to them the absolute need of his presence at home, and consulted them upon the arrangements that should precede his departure.

All urged the sacrificing Guy to Conrad, whose abilities no one questioned, if many did his honesty; while those who most distrusted him thought to render him innoxious, by making it his individual interest to defend the kingdom. Conrad was known to be, at this very moment, in treaty with Saladin, offering to hold his principality, considerably enlarged, of him.([169]) All the minor points of their alliance were not yet arranged; but the recall of the French from Ascalon is supposed to have been the first step towards co-operation against the Syro-Franks of Jerusalem, and the Crusaders; and even the former therefore judged it indispensable to bribe him with their crown. The haughty and self-willed Richard, upon this emergency, mastered his private feelings, and assented to the elevation of his almost avowed enemy, taking it upon himself to indemnify his friend. He had previously sold Cyprus, which he found quite as much a burthen as any acquisition, to the Templars. To them, likewise, the hatred borne by the Greek natives to a Latin Order had rendered the government of the island so troublesome, that they were tired of their kingdom. Richard now redeemed it from them, as a compensation to Guy for Palestine. Guy, having no choice but to submit and accept, was thenceforward King of Cyprus.

A deputation of Palestine Barons, and of Crusaders, headed by the Earl of Champagne, now repaired to Tyre, to announce to Conrad the resolution taken in his favour, as also Richard's intention of meeting him at Acre. They and their tidings were received with great joy, accompanied by expressions of piety, and of a deep sense of regal responsibility, not very consistent with the new King's previous conduct. But still he professed to mistrust Richard—to his Italian temper the Lion's was incomprehensible—and he refused to accompany the deputation back to Acre to meet him, until he should first be crowned. Preparations were made in all haste for this ceremony, prior to which the government, it would seem, could hardly be assumed; when, before they were completed, upon the 28th of April, 1192, two emissaries of the Sheik of the Assassins—who, the better to execute their mission had received baptism, and resided six months at

Tyre as neophytes—stabbed him as he rode along an open street of Tyre. They were instantly torn to pieces, boldly avowing the deed as executed by them at their Sheik's command.

Three individuals are accused of this murder: that is to say, of having bribed the Sheik to its commission, for of his being the immediate author there never was any question; and not much that he openly acknowledged and justified it, upon the ground of Conrad's having seized a ship belonging to him, and refused either to restore the property or to release the crew, besides having hanged a servant of his—it may be presumed lawfully, for murder. The three accused are Richard, Saladin, and Humphrey de Thoron. With respect to the last it is enough to point out the absurdity of supposing that a weak, avaricious man, who had taken money to concur in his divorce from his Queen-wife and her kingdom, could afterwards, merely to revenge himself for their loss, disburse any sum approaching the price at which the Sheik usually sold his assassins—for a sale, not a hiring out, it was, as they rarely survived. Saladin, again, could have no motive for such a deed, unless apprehension of the talents of Conrad—which all Moslem writers rate very high—when he should be King of Jerusalem, can be supposed sufficient. And surely to stain so lofty and generous a character as Saladin's with murder, for so paltry a motive, and that through the Sheik, abhorred by him as a heretic, even more than as a murderer, who had attempted his own life, is repugnant to common sense: to say nothing of the little time remaining for resolve, negotiation, arrangement, and execution, after Saladin could be acquainted with the determination taken at Ascalon, (and, till he was so, why should he wish to kill an able Prince, whose alliance he was actually purchasing?) whilst the actual assassins appear to have been for some months' time at Tyre, awaiting a convenient opportunity.(170)

It is upon the English King that French and German writers, as champions respectively of Philip Augustus and the Duke of Austria, try to fix the crime.(171) Much of what has been said in relation to Saladin applies equally here; as, the want of an adequate motive—none is assigned

but dislike to Conrad, and therefore reluctance to see him King—want of time for such a negotiation, and repugnance to the character of the accused. It has been argued that he, who in cold blood could order the massacre of 2500 prisoners who were objects of indifference to him, could not hesitate to murder one man, whom he disliked.(172) But this is again judging the twelfth century by the standard of the nineteenth. Take the sentiments of that age into consideration, and what analogy is there between the slaughter of two or three thousand enemies of God, of which he who ordered it could write, "it was done as was fitting," and hiring assassins to murder a personal enemy, a fellow Christian, a Crusader, the champion of God? The only thing that really tells against Richard, is his having produced for his vindication an absurd supposititious letter from the Old Man of the Mountain, acquitting him, and taking the deed upon himself. This self-evident forgery—which appears to have been a clumsy device of Richard's Chancellor, Longchamps Bishop of Ely,(173) for making an acknowledgment, matter of notoriety in Syria, known in Europe—can hardly be thought to counterbalance the weight of improbability in Richard's favour.

The only fruit of Conrad's marriage with Isabel had not yet seen the light; but the Palestine Barons felt that a King they must have, and felt the necessity the more strongly when the French—after requiring Isabel to intrust Tyre to them; and being by her refused, because forbidden by her murdered Lord to intrust it to any one but King Richard (presumptive proof surely that Conrad did not impute his assassination to Richard, and that the murderers had not accused him)—prepared to seize it by force. Not only would the Barons not await the birth of the Queen's first child, in the very first week of her widowhood they insisted upon her marrying again, and Isabel, who has been represented as devotedly attached to Conrad,(174) apparently made little objection. The choice of the Barons fell upon the Earl of Champagne, who, as the nephew of the Kings of France and of England, they might reasonably hope would be vigorously supported from Europe. Henry, who was upon his way back to Acre there to meet Richard,

made his acceptance subject to the approbation of that royal uncle who was still fighting for Palestine. He, as had been hoped, was much pleased with the election of his nephew, though he expressed considerable dislike of marriage with the wife of a living husband. But, finding, probably, that it was an indispensable condition of the kingship, he consented and hurried forward to Tyre to be present at its celebration. And now the new King, being the person who profited by the crime, became a fourth object of suspicion, as the instigator of Conrad's murder.

The Duke of Burgundy and the French Crusaders testified their satisfaction at the exaltation of their countryman, the nephew of their King, by promising to devote another year to the fulfilment of their vow. Richard, on his part, transferred all his conquests at once to his nephew; and after a while added a promise similar to the Duke of Burgundy's, notwithstanding the urgent need of his presence at home. During Richard's sojourn at Acre, upon this occasion, he is stated by some writers to have conferred knighthood upon a nephew of Saladin's, called a son of Saphadin's, who visited him purposely to receive it; but Vinisauf places the incident earlier, upon one of the occasions, when, during the repairs of the ruined fortresses, the business of the Crusade and of the kingdom occasionally required Richard's presence at Acre.

The restoration of Ascalon being now complete, and the return to Europe postponed, Richard resumed the project of laying siege to Jerusalem; for which favourite enterprise the Crusaders again thronged to swell his ranks. Again the army set forward for the Holy City, again reaching Baitnubah; and there, to await King Henry, who with his Syro-Franks had not yet joined the Crusaders, again halted. As usual, Richard, during the delay, relieved his impatience of inaction with feats of partisan warfare, one of which was the capture near Hebron, of a large convoy sent from Egypt to Jerusalem, to share in which spoils the Crusaders were willing to defer the capture even of the Holy City.

The sojourn at Beitnubah gave occasion to an incident worth mentioning; in proof that, whatever the degeneracy (if the demoralization resulting from wealth, pride, and

ambition may be so termed) of the two great Orders, from their primitive purity, relaxation of discipline was not among their faults. During Richard's absence upon one of his adventurous excursions, the camp was attacked by the Turks in overwhelming numbers. Whilst the leaders were arraying their troops as they best could for defence, a knight of St. John, named Robert de Bruges, burst out from the ranks, slew the Turkish commander, broke through the hostile force, carried the news of the surprise to the English King, and returned with him to assail the enemy in the rear. This unexpected charge gave the almost defeated Christians the victory. But the knight had acted upon his own opinion, neither staying for the commands of his superior, nor even inquiring his pleasure; and the Grand-Master, instead of praising his zeal and judgment, punished his insubordination by a command to dismount, lead his horse to the stable, and await the Chapter's decision upon his conduct. In silence he obeyed; but the prayers of the King and the Princes obtained his prompt pardon.

Henry arrived with his reinforcements; but again the main enterprise was abandoned, and again, and still, even now, historians differ as to the cause. Some again impute it to fickleness in Richard;[175] others to the thwarting of the Duke of Burgundy, who either himself grudged Richard the glory of recovering Jerusalem, or had been commissioned by Philip to foil any such brilliant success of his rival.[176] He had urged the English King to make the attempt without even waiting to be reinforced by the King of Jerusalem, in order, as Richard alleged, to involve him in the disgrace of a failure. Apprehending such a result, Richard refused to lead so rash an attempt, but offered to join it as a volunteer. Of course none was made. The better opinion seems to be, that Richard again listened to representations of those most interested; *i.e.*, the King of Jerusalem, and the Grand-Master of the Temple and the Hospital, who opposed the siege of Jerusalem upon two grounds: the first, that, Saladin having destroyed all the wells in the district, the besieging army could not, in the dry season, be supplied with water;

the second, the old one, that the moment the Holy City was taken, the Crusaders would deem their work done, and depart; when, unless more of the kingdom were previously recovered, it must infallibly be again lost. Again Richard yielded, but he proved the intense mortification with which he renounced, or postponed, the great object of his ambition, by refusing "to look upon the Holy City which he was unable to rescue from the enemies of God," when informed that it was visible from a hill not far distant(177).

During this second halt at Beitnubah, a Syrian Abbot brought the King of England, as he averred, a piece of the True Cross, which, he asserted, he had himself concealed after the fatal defeat at Tiberias, and still kept safe in concealment, notwithstanding Saladin's persecutions.(178) The story refutes itself, but was believed by its hearers.

The army now retreated; disunion at its height, and every enterprise proposed by one, rejected by others. Richard accused the Duke of Burgundy of a treacherous correspondence with Saladin; the Duke again withdrew to Tyre, where he soon afterwards died, according to some accounts, raving mad; which was esteemed by his contemporaries proof positive of his guilt.

Upon giving up the immediate recovery of Jerusalem, and finding every other proposed scheme of action baffled by French opposition, the Lion-heart felt his Crusade terminated; and, grieved and mortified, he was about to embark for Europe at Acre, when an opportunity presented itself of at least ending his enterprise with a brilliant exploit. A messenger brought information to Acre, that Joppa was besieged by Saladin, was defending itself gallantly, but against his swarms of warriors could not, unaided, hold out many days. Richard instantly set sail with his French and English vassals to relieve this important fortress, whilst Henry led a body of Templars, Hospitalers, and Crusaders thither by land. He was delayed by the necessity of fighting his way through defiles, which the Sultan's troops guarded in great strength; as was Richard by contrary winds and a storm that dispersed his squadrons. When at length, August 1st, with so much of the fleet as had remained together or reassembled,

he came in sight of Joppa, the crescent appeared upon the walls! The conclusion was that relief came too late, and even Richard hesitated.

And for all but Richard it would have been too late. The town was already evacuated; the citadel in process of surrender, when the sight of the Lion's flag suspended the operation, and the battle was renewed. The besieged saw that the fleet paused, thinking all lost, and feared it might retire. A priest thereupon scrambling down from the battlements, where the waves washed the wall, flung himself into the sea, swam to the nearest ship, and announced the actual state of affairs. Richard ordered the vessels as near in shore as they could get, then leaped in full armour into the sea, and with the water up to his middle, waded ashore, eagerly followed by knights and archers. First, he made the shore; and speedily cleared it of the Turks who had hurried down to prevent their landing. First, whilst all were seeking means of entering the town or the citadel, to assail the assailants, he found an unfastened postern into the Templars' tilt-yard, and rushing through, fell with his wonted impetuosity upon the victorious Saracens. They hardly awaited his blows, or the onslaught of his followers. At the very cry of *le Roi Richard*,[179] they fled from their all but completed conquest. Town and castle were recovered; the hostile army had disappeared.

Richard encamped with his own company before the town to protect it till the walls should be sufficiently repaired, and to await Henry with the rest of his vessels and the Palestine army, still impeded by the already mentioned difficulties; and for the moment, the victor remained unmolested. But Saladin had only withdrawn, like the tiger, for a better spring; or rather to spring, as he hoped, upon an easier prey. He had received information of the King of Jerusalem's movements, and thought to find him entangled in defiles, and so poor in numbers as to be indeed easily destroyed. But Richard, who knew his nephew's position, upon learning Saladin's altered direction, instantly despatched the larger portion of the troops he had with him to reinforce Henry; and the Sultan, learning that he had done so, indulged a hope of the more important victim.

He turned back to take advantage of Richard's having thus further weakened himself. In the night of the 4th of August, a chosen party of light Saracen troops sought to creep stealthily into the English camp, trusting to surprise the Christians asleep, and thus carry off Richard himself, ere he had time for resistance; whilst the whole Saracen army was rapidly advancing to receive and secure their prize, if successful; to support the adventurers in case of resistance. Some accident fortunately delaying the attempt till peep of dawn, a Genoese chanced to descry the intruders as they were stealing into the camp, and flew to awaken and warn the King, alarming the sleepers as he ran. All were instantly afoot, and this scheme was foiled, but before King or Knights could fully arm, Saladin himself was upon them.

The battle that ensued is one of the Lion-hearted monarch's most splendid exploits; even his detractors confessing that solely through his self-possession, skill, and valour, did his little band gain the victory over the immense Saracen host. He arrayed them with great judgment, so as to make the most of their reduced numbers—estimated at 17 knights and 1000 archers—constructing a sort of fortress with their shields. And such confidence had he in the steadiness of his men, and in their confidence in him, that, being informed, in the midst of the unequal conflict, that a body of the enemy had scaled the walls of Joppa, he bade the messenger keep the disaster secret, told his knights he would go see if all were safe and right in the town, and galloped off almost alone. In Joppa, he reanimated garrison and townsmen, cleared the place of the enemy, made the necessary dispositions for its security, should the attempt be repeated, and was then rowed to the ships, to summon the crews to the assistance of their imperilled brethren. With them he hastened back to the field, where he found his band maintaining their ground within their shield fort, but sore pressed, and much alarmed at his prolonged absence. With the reinforcement he brought, the victory was soon decided; and is said to have cost the life of only one of Richard's knights, whilst 700 Turks lay dead upon the field.

Two little incidents of this battle are related, which, notwithstanding the length the narrative of this Crusade has been suffered to reach, must not be omitted. Saladin, when beginning to apprehend defeat, reproachfully exclaimed: "Where are those who were to bring me King Richard a prisoner?" To which one of the baffled nocturnal adventurers answered: "Lord Sultan, this king is not like other men: none can stand his blows." The other anecdote is one of those touches of human nature, so soothing to the mind oppressed with the record of crimes and follies. Richard, whose armour is described as stuck over with darts, "like quills upon the fretful porcupine," had charged through the whole hostile army, and, unlike the Earl of Tripoli, at Tiberias, charged back again, rescuing, upon his return, the dismounted and nearly overpowered Earl of Leicester and Raoul de Mauleon; when his own horse, exhausted or wounded, fell. Malek el Adel, who appears to have been much captivated by Richard during the intercourse to which their negotiations had given birth, saw the accident, and immediately sent him a very fine steed. The King was about to mount, when his attendants prevented him, proclaimed their dread of a foe's gift, and insisted upon first trying the suspected quadruped, when the spirited animal carried off its rider into the midst of the Saracen host. The attendants were exulting in their wise distrust, when horse and rider reappeared, safely escorted back to the Christian troops, in company with a second, yet finer, charger.

The unusual intercourse between the hostile armies, introduced by Richard, had never been quite broken off, and after this engagement some Moslem Emirs visited the King. They found him in bed and alarmingly ill, from the intense exertion of the preceding day; but he received them graciously, highly praised Saladin, and charged them with this more frank than diplomatic message to him: "In God's name let us make peace! It is time this war should end, since it can benefit neither of us. If it leaves my hereditary dominions a prey to civil discord, what are you the better for that?" The message was duly delivered; for the Emirs had long been weary of the war, and Saladin was, for many reasons, as desirous

of a cessation of hostilities, as Richard could be of getting home, to quell his brother's revolt, and counteract Philip's nefarious projects.

The negotiation now, therefore, made more progress; though divers conflicting interests still interposed. If Richard perforce submitted to leave Jerusalem, for the present at least, in Saladin's possession, the disposal of Ascalon remained a question of seemingly insuperable difficulty, each party dreading it in the hands of the other. The compromise at length agreed upon was, jointly to destroy it; as a compensation for which sacrifice the King of Jerusalem—to whom the whole sea coast from Joppa to Tyre, both inclusive, was assigned—should share with the Sultan in Ramla and Lydda. The safety of Christian pilgrims, and the regular performance of Christian worship at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Bethlehem, and at Nazareth, was provided for. Saladin thought fit to include the Ismaelites in the treaty, as his allies; Richard and Henry, the Princes of Antioch and Tripoli, as theirs; the last having apparently renounced his vassalage when his suzerain became too weak to enforce it. The truce was for 3 years, 3 months, 3 weeks, 3 days, and 3 hours; ([180]) and Richard, when, in the presence of Malek el Adel, it had been duly sworn by his Barons at his bedside, he himself giving his hand upon it, sent Saladin word, that as soon as it expired he should return with another army, to complete the recovery of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Saladin's answer was, that were it to change hands, it could not be transferred to a worthier sovereign.

Richard refused to owe the privilege of offering up his prayers at the Holy Sepulchre to the favour of a Mussulman; and did not, therefore, like nine tenths of his army, visit Jerusalem. Of those that did, the Bishop of Salisbury had an interview with Saladin, who, being pleased with him, bade him ask a boon. The prelate asked leave for Roman Catholic priests, in addition to the schismatic Syrians, to officiate at the hallowed spots to which pilgrims resorted in order to pay their devotions: and Saladin, admiring his disinterested piety, both assented, and, Vinisauf says, shewed him the True Cross. The good

Chronicler adds that he and his party were not so fortunate as to see and revere it.

Again, the King of England sent the two Queens, his wife and sister, in a separate vessel, now giving them the whole fleet for their escort. For his own conveyance, he borrowed a ship of the Templars, some of whom accompanied him; and it has been conjectured that, designing to cross Germany, in order to reach his own dominions earlier than he could in any other way, he further designed —as a prudential measure for eluding observation—to assume the garb of a Templar during his journey. Upon the 9th of October, 1192, weeping bitterly over the necessity of quitting the Holy Land without having recovered the Holy City, Richard embarked for Europe. This chivalrous Crusade is computed to have cost 500,000 Christian lives;[181] and in it the value of infantry is said to have been first appreciated, through the excellent service of the English archers.[182]

CHAPTER III.

HENRY VI.

German affairs—Peace with the Welfs—Sicilian affairs—Tancred's Usurpation—Henry and Constance in Apulia—Seizure of Richard Cœur-de-Lion—His captivity—Ransom—Release—Further Negotiations. [1189—1194.

HENRY VI, if infinitely the least amiable man, is by no means the least remarkable monarch, of the Swabian dynasty. His naturally slender and somewhat delicate frame had, under the effective regimen of knightly exercises, the chase, and the like, been hardened into fair health and strength. His naturally vigorous intellect had been as carefully cultivated by education; and the studies, originally compulsory, he still sedulously pursued when emancipated from the control of preceptors; at least such studies as were most adapted to form the monarch, the warrior, or the statesman. In his youth, he had condescended to trifle with poetry, the love strains of the troubadours; but, as if to mark the rapid progress of really modern literature, and of the development of living languages, Henry wrote, not like his father in the Provençal, which, as first really cultivated, had opened the way, but in his German, mother-tongue (183) In early manhood, such juvenile occupations and thoughts were cast aside by him, as idle; though through life he treated poets and scholars with a respect, reflecting the more honour upon himself, because not to have been anticipated from his coldly practical nature. He was a master of the Latin language, as of the history and laws of the countries over which he was called to reign; and also of the canon law. He is said to have been eloquent, was quick of comprehension, a keen observer, and an almost infallible appre-

ciator of the character and abilities of those who approached him. Succeeding to the throne at the usually immature age of 23, and married to a woman by nearly ten years his senior, he was proof against, apparently insensible to, all those refined, though sensual temptations and pleasures, amidst which princes so circumstanced are but too apt to waste their energies, forgetitng their most important duties and interests. Add to these qualities, intense ambition, blunting, deadening all sympathy and sensibility, and Henry may perhaps be accepted as the very ideal of an able despot, well-principled, but not scrupulously conscientious. The blots of his moral character, avarice, which however he knew how to sacrifice when necessary, and inexorable implacability towards offenders, towards antagonists, towards all who had ever resisted his will, or in any way incurred his displeasure were the chief source of his few political blunders.

Frederic, without resigning any portion of his own sovereign authority, had early initiated his heir into the cares and the functions of royalty. He often consulted him, partly as a mode of conveying instruction, and gradually employed him more and more. After his marriage with Constance, the government of Italy, it has been seen, was intrusted to him, and he exercised it according to his harsh temper and arbitrary disposition. He frightened and offended the Pope, and caused a Lombard bishop, who denied the Emperor's right of investiture, to be scourged. From Lombardy he was recalled to Germany to receive his father's last instructions, and take charge of the whole Empire as his representative.

In Germany, Henry's first business was settling the odious family feud in Misnia, which Frederic had so far allayed, that he had prevailed upon the son to release the father; but which, upon his departure, as though all controlling authority were thereby removed, raged fiercely as ever. Again the eldest son seized and imprisoned his father; and now the exasperated old Margrave, as well as the triumphant filial rebel, rejected the young King's proffered mediation. In conjunction with the Diet, Henry then commissioned the Duke of Bohemia to reduce the

refractory Margrave, in expectancy, to order. The Duke overran the margraviate; whereupon father and son, recovering their senses, listened to the King's remonstrances. The son released the father, and the father forgave the son.

But Henry's attention was soon called to troubles more important to both the Empire and himself. In the autumn of this year, 1189, Henry the Lion, in violation of his oath, returned to Germany, alleging, in justification of his breach of faith, that the enjoined peace had not been duly observed towards his dominions. Even Guelph historians do not specify the aggression of which he had to complain; and, judging from his conduct upon his arrival, it seems most likely that he thought, as Frederic had apprehended he would, the opportunity of recovering some of his forfeited possessions offered by the absence of the Emperor and his army:—invaluable, too much so, to be lost for an oath, which he would fain deem unfairly extorted.

Immediately upon the landing of the Duke of Brunswick, a second Hartwig, who now occupied the see of Henry's old enemy, Hartwig, Archbishop of Bremen, not only declared in his favour, but gave him back his old booty, Stade, which he had been forced to restore to the see. His son-in-law, the King of Denmark, sent him a body of troops, and the Earls of Ratzeburg, Schwerin, and Wolpe, joined him. Thus strengthened, he easily raised the Brunswick vassals, and invaded his confiscated duchy of Saxony. Hamburg and some smaller towns opened their gates at his summons; and Holstein discovered such favourable sentiments towards its former suzerain, that Earl Adolf, who governed the county for his absent crusading father, the Earl of Holstein, retired for security to Lubeck. The old Lion next proceeded to fulfil a vow more congenial to his temper than the oath he had sworn to Frederic Barbarossa. He besieged Bardewick. Dreading the wrath their insolence had provoked, its citizens defended it stoutly; but in vain. In three days the Free Imperial city,—to which dignity the town had risen since it had ceased to be the Lion's—was his, and those who had insulted his misfortune felt his vengeance. The men were mostly butchered, those who escaped the sword, with

the women and children, were expelled or enslaved; the church treasures were removed to Ratzeburg, and the town was given up to pillage. When nothing more could be found, the houses were set on fire, the walls razed, and the ditch was filled. The Cathedral alone was spared, and over its door the Duke affixed his shield, with an inscription purporting that this was the "trail of the Lion."(183) His treatment of Bardewick, though an especial revenge for an especial insult, so terrified the Lubeckers, that they refused to attempt defence. When summoned, they merely demanded of the Duke an oath to respect the extension of privileges granted them by the Emperor, and to insure the safe departure of Earl Adolf, with his relations and property, ere receiving him and his troops within their walls. The Duke next made himself master of Lauenburg, one of Duke Bernard's strongest fortresses.

King Henry, upon the first tidings of the Duke of Brunswick's return, had assembled a Diet at Merseburg. He himself was highly incensed; regarding the Lion's perjury, as indicating an expectation of being able to take advantage of a youthful King's inexperience, and consequently as a personal insult. The Princes resented the violation of an oath imposed for the common good, and yet more the contumacious disregard of their authority, betrayed by this attempt to re-conquer the territories, of which the sentence of the Diet had lawfully deprived him, from those princes to whom it had as lawfully assigned them. Again was the Lion laid under the ban of the Empire, again an Imperial army assembled to put the ban in execution, and at its head the King of the Romans marched against the rebel Duke. Hanover was quickly taken, and, in retaliation of the destruction of Bardewick, burned. Brunswick was besieged, but gallantly defended by another Henry, one of the Duke's sons, until winter suspended all military operations, and, according to the custom of the age, both armies dispersed.

In the course of the winter, intelligence of the death of William II of Sicily put a stop to King Henry's preparations for resuming hostilities against the Duke of Brunswick in the spring. Although he neither could nor would think of leaving Germany, until rebellion should there be

suppressed, his sense of the urgent need of the lawful heirs. early presence in the Sicilies, determined him to aim at pacifying, rather than subduing the Lion, thus to effect a reconciliation between him and his neighbours. It would seem that, had Constance hastened to take possession of her heritage, this might have been secured without detriment to the affairs of Germany, or interruption of the King's previous designs; but the German Henry VI was too like Henry VII of England, not to be jealous of his wife's individual rights and possible authority. He detained the Queen in Germany until he should himself be at liberty to accompany her; and contented himself with despatching his Chancellor, Diether, and the Archbishop of Mainz, to claim the crown for himself and her, ascertain the state of affairs in their new kingdom, and in every way act for them. His two envoys unfortunately quarrelled, and the Archbishop returned to Germany, leaving the Chancellor to discharge his mission alone.

The most indispensable preliminary to Henry's crossing the Alps being a peace with the Duke of Brunswick, upon the continuance of which some reliance could be felt, he immediately made overtures to that prince; and whilst both negotiations with him and warlike preparations, in case of their failure, were in progress, he addressed himself to conciliating the only other prince of whom he entertained any apprehensions. This still dreaded enemy was the unapostolic, and ambitious as powerful, Archbishop of Cologne. Henry was convinced that the apparent reconciliation with the Emperor, to which the Papal Legate had almost compelled the prelate, had been a mere external sacrifice to ecclesiastical decorum; and that nothing really prevented Philip from confederating with the rebel Lion, but his possession of a large portion of the ducal fiefs, without restoring which he could hardly even propose an alliance with the previous owner. But King Henry could bend his implacability when his interest required yielding; he controlled his own anger, and submitted to extortion with a good grace. He confirmed to the Archbishop various disputed pretensions to tolls, coinage, &c.; restored him some mortgaged lands; and at the Whitsuntide Diet of 1190, held at Nuremberg, treated

him with such tender respect, rejecting every insinuated suspicion, that he seems to have effectually obliterated all lurking resentment of past quarrels. The Archbishop promised him his cordial support, in the inforcement of his consort's right to the kingdom of Sicily.

The Duke of Brunswick had looked upon the Archbishop of Cologne as a prospective ally, whose co-operation might, when wanted, be certainly purchased by the renunciation of all claim to his Westphalian acquisitions; and the loss of such a possible future confederate was not the only deterioration his position underwent, in the spring of 1190. The Holsteiners, repenting of their revolt from their own mesne Lord, not only deserted the Duke to submit again to their Earl's son, but, under his command, gave the Brunswickers battle, and defeated them; whilst the strong fortress the Duke was besieging, Siegberg, showed no disposition to surrender. Under these circumstances the old Lion was well pleased to escape from the ban of the Empire, not only without additional forfeiture, but with some little gain; and to be permitted to remain quietly in his dukedom of Brunswick, giving his eldest son, Lothar, as a hostage for his peaceable conduct, and sending the second Henry, surnamed, for distinction, the Younger, to perform, as his substitute, the feudal service due for his fiefs. The other conditions were, that the walls of Brunswick should in four places be broken down, and those of Lauenburg destroyed; in which dismantled state the town appears to have been left to him: whilst, as an Imperial gift, he was suffered to retain half of Lubeck, the second half reverting to the Earl of Holstein—its privileges as a Free Imperial City being forfeited, seemingly by its prompt submission to a rebel.

King Henry, now deeming himself free, was about to set forward for Italy, when new hindrances interposed to detain him. First, came tidings of the death of his cousin, Landgrave Lewis, of Thuringia, in Cyprus. The Landgrave had died childless; his brother and heir, Hermann, was still in the crusading army before Acre; and some active interference on the part of the sovereign was requisite, to insure to the new Landgrave his lawful heritage. Henry, although by this time perforce aware

of Tancred's usurpation, showed himself the less impatient of these delays, as Chancellor Diether, confining his investigations to the more loyal, continental half of the kingdom, where no pains had been taken to alienate the people from the rightful heir, sent him very satisfactory reports. Still he used the utmost diligence to remove all impediments, and was again prepared to start, when the yet heavier news of the Emperor's death, in the very moment of success, again stopped him. He, the Imperial heir, was indeed already crowned and in actual possession of the sovereign authority; but this calamity, nevertheless, induced a necessity for various changes and new dispositions. To this business Henry now addressed himself; and still scarcely alarmed touching his wife's succession, he determined to blend his Coronation Progress, with his expedition against the usurper of her acknowledged birthright.

But Diether had at length discovered that, misled himself by flattering reports, and by taking a part as a specimen of the whole, he, in his turn, had misled his master; and he now, with all earnestness, pressed Henry to hurry to southern Italy. The loyal portion of the Sicilian and Apulian nobles, who adhered to their oath of prospective allegiance, added their vehement remonstrances against further delay, to the Chancellor's entreaties. But Henry, to whose nature anything like vacillation was repugnant, would not alter the arrangements he had made relative to his own movements. He, however, directed Testa, the Imperial Vicar in Tuscany, to raise an army with the utmost possible despatch, and lead it into Apulia, there to enforce obedience and loyalty. He himself first completed the previous measures that had been planned for Germany, whilst he believed his right acknowledged in the Sicilies, and was not ready to begin his march until the autumn of this year, 1190.

These delays had been most unfortunate, as giving Tancred leisure to secure his usurped throne, and he, whose dexterity in extricating himself from his difficulties with the King of England has been seen, did not suffer this leisure to pass unprofitably. By a lavish distribution of the treasures, amassed by his predecessor, he, besides rewarding and securing the attachment of his original

partizans, daily acquired more. In arms he subdued the Saracens in the mountains, constraining them to submit to the terms he dictated: whilst a brother of his wife's, the Conte di Acerra, overran and subjugated the greater part of Apulia; and by the atrocious cruelty with which he persecuted all adherents of Constance within his reach, inspired a terror, that for the moment facilitated his success, although blended with a sullen resentment unpromising for its permanence. All this was in full progress when Testa, in obedience to King Henry, crossed the Apulian frontier with an army, and was immediately joined by the Conte d'Andria with a troop of loyal Apulians. Together they recovered many of Acerra's conquests, and drove him to seek shelter at Ariano, where they besieged him. But the victorious Testa ravaged the country with a recklessness that effaced Acerra's cruelties from men's minds; and seeming to corroborate Matteo's predictions of the evils that would follow in the train of a foreign monarch, alienated even the continental Sicilians from Constance. Acerra defended Ariano resolutely; and ere the loyalists could take it, the heats of summer engendered disease in their army, which, combining with a dearth of provisions, rendered the raising the siege unavoidable. In September, Testa retreated with his sickly troops to northern Italy, and Andria shut himself up in the strong fortress of Ascoli.

Andria was now in his turn besieged by Acerra. Ascoli was as resolutely defended as Ariano had been; and Acerra, despairing of taking it by force, made overtures to Andria for a general pacification. The negotiation meeting with obstacles at every step, Acerra proposed an interview, a personal conference offering the best chance of obviating or eluding difficulties, otherwise apparently insuperable. The unsuspicious, because honourable, Andria felt the justice of the remark, and left the security of his walls, to hold the proposed conference according to appointment. But no sooner was he without the gates, with an insufficient escort, than he was surrounded, siezed, and put to death, by command of Acerra; who alleged, in his justification, that faith was not to be kept with a traitor. A doctrine as dangerous as it was nefa-

rious—even could the staunch adherent of the heiress to whom all had, prospectively, sworn allegiance, be termed a traitor—and so the unforgiving Henry, who forgot neither precedent, nor promulgator of such doctrine, in due time taught Acerra to his cost. For the moment however, the crime seemed to answer its purpose. Willingly or unwillingly, Apulia submitted; and, in the spring, of 1191, Tancred was uncontested King of Sicily, both continental and insular. His eldest son, Roger, was generally acknowledged as his heir. As such Tancred had him crowned, and obtained for him the hand of the Constantinopolitan Emperor Isaac's daughter, Irene, the affianced bride of King Henry's youngest brother, Philip.

The latter portion of this time Henry seems to have idly allowed the usurper of his wife's throne, for occupying himself with less urgent concerns. Late in the autumn of 1190, his business in Germany being despatched and his preparations completed, he crossed the Alps, accompanied by Constance, and at the head of the feudal army that ever attended the Coronation Progress. Towards the end of November he reached Milan, where, as everywhere throughout long-rebellious but now reconciled Lombardy, he was joyfully received, as an acknowledged and revered sovereign. But, if he encountered no opposition, he found the country in a state of distraction which, in his opinion, as imperatively required his presence and intervention, as the disorders of Germany had previously done. Postponing, therefore, both his coronation as Emperor, and the inforcement of his consort's right to the Sicilies, he devoted the winter to the pacification of northern Italy.

The Lombard League, instead of profiting by the Peace of Constance, to insure, through the establishment of internal order, organization, and union, the enjoyment of the rights and liberties therein ceded to its members, had virtually dissolved itself, by the broils which rivalry and virulent reciprocal hatred had produced amongst the confederated cities; whilst scarcely less discord and dissension prevailed within the walls of the most. Thus he found Milan at war with Cremona and Bergamo, Parma with Piacenza, Verona with Padua, Mantua with Ferrara, &c., &c. Within the cities the democratic spirit was be-

ginning to struggle against aristocratic pre-eminence, and when it prevailed, the form of government varied, as the passions or the caprice of the multitude dictated. As, for instance, Genoa soon after the middle of the century, added, to her four, five or six annual Consuls, eight new Consuls, whom Caffari calls *de Causarum*,—judges, apparently, the others being distinguished by him as *de Communi*. Subsequently, the number of both descriptions of these magistrates varied; and, in 1190, she substituted a foreign Podestà for her compatriot Consuls; but he gave offence by punishing a nobly-born murderer, and was forthwith superseded by Consuls, for the remainder of his allotted year; whilst for the next, 1191, a Podestà, this time a Milanese, was again substituted for the Consuls. He re-established some sort of law and order. Throughout the whole of northern Italy, the Trevisan march alone enjoyed any degree of tranquillity:—the mountainous character of the country securing the nobility in their strong castles against urban domination, and hatred of urban pretensions serving as a bond of union amongst the nobles themselves.

This was the condition in which Henry VI found Lombardy, and which he exerted himself to remedy. He succeeded in formally reconciling the hostile cities to each other, and bound them, under a penalty of 200 lb. of gold, to keep the peace he had re-established. With their intermural dissensions he seems not to have meddled, thinking, perhaps, that their very excess must, by wearying the citizens, tend to disgust them with their republicanism, and reconcile them to the Imperial authority. He endeavoured, less successfully, to organize a Ghibeline League, in opposition to the Lombard, of which he still felt great mistrust. He obtained a pecuniary supply, by mortgaging a couple of Imperial fiefs to Piacenza for 2000 lb. of gold; and he secured the assistance of the fleets of Pisa and Genoa against Tancred, by promising those cities great commercial privileges in the Sicilies, privileges amounting to nearly a monopoly of the foreign trade of his future kingdom. What more he promised them is again one of the disputed points of the history of this period. Guelph writers affirm that, verbally or by letter,

to each separately, he promised the cession of great part if not the whole of the island, with cities and districts in Apulia; Ghibelines aver that the Genoese and Pisan envoys chose so to interpret his observation, that the conquest would be more advantageous to them than to him, since Germans could not live in that climate, and they could. When the price, at which these commercial states obliged the Crusaders first, and the Kings of Jerusalem afterwards, to purchase their assistance, is recollected, it can hardly be doubted but that Henry must have promised, vaguely it may be, cessions somewhat analogous to that price, in the seaports of the kingdom to be conquered; but, assuredly, a promise so extravagant as of half the island and a quarter of Apulia, especially not being authenticated by a written convention, must have awakened suspicion of his not purposing to fulfil his engagement (184)

His business in Lombardy finished, Henry, with a considerable accession of strength from the junction of Italian great vassals for the Coronation Progress, in February, 1191, marched southwards. At Ferrara he required two oaths from the citizens, one of allegiance, and one not to sign the Lombard League; upon receiving which he relieved the town from the ban of the Empire, under which it seems to have lain ever since Urban III there excommunicated the late Emperor. He admitted the excuses of Ancona for the expulsion of the rapacious Imperial officer, Margrave Gotibald, and to Bologna, where he was received with due honours, he granted the right of coinage, in consideration of an annual tribute.

Northern Italy, or what was then Lombardy, pacified, Henry proceeded towards Rome, where he found dissensions, as usual, between the Pope and his unruly subjects. After a prolonged absence from his see, a treaty had, in 1188, been concluded by Clement III with the Romans, in which they admitted all rights and dues of sovereignty to be the Pope's, upon condition of his recognising their Senate and their city Prefect, and giving Tusculum up to their thirst of destruction. Upon this compact Clement had returned to Rome, but from compassion or want of power, had not yet delivered up Tusculum to its fate. The Romans were dissatisfied, and now sought in

the Emperor a stay against the Pope. They proposed to Henry, that he should gratify their virulent hatred of Tusculum, as the price of his admittance into Rome, and of his coronation. The Tusculans simultaneously besought his protection against the Romans; and Henry, although he temporarily placed a German garrison in Tusculum for its security, held both parties in suspense as to his ultimate decision, whilst he negotiated actively with the Pope.

Between the spiritual and temporal Heads of Christendom, there were too many points in dispute to leave room for a cordial friendship. Some of these might indeed be disposed of without much difficulty. Of one, relative to a double election to the archbishopric of Treves, the Chapter of the see had got rid, by rejecting both the papal and the imperial candidate, and electing a third, unobjectionable individual. Another, made by Clement, in observance of his treaty with the Romans, a condition of his consent to crown Henry, viz. that he should pledge himself to ratify as Emperor all the rights and privileges the Romans claimed, the King for the moment suffered, in addition to divers papal pretensions, to pass, as a matter of course. But, still, grounds of dissension remained. Clement naturally inherited his predecessor's resentment of Henry's harsh and irreverend treatment of Urban III; and deeply did Henry resent Clement's having invested Tancred with the Sicilian crown, in disregard alike of the acknowledged birthright of Constance; and, could that be set aside, of Henry's claim to the kingdom as a lapsed fief of the Empire.

Such was the state of the parties towards each other, when, upon the 25th of March, 1191, Clement III died; and upon the 28th, the eigthy-five-years-old Cardinal Hyacinth was elected in his stead. The new Pope, already mentioned as Celestin III, thought to wring from Henry, both for himself and for the Romans, the desired terms, by delaying his coronation until they should be granted; and this he could easily accomplish, even without apparent design, simply by delaying the ceremony of his own consecration, which must perforce precede the other Celestin, who had immediately recognised the Roman

Senate, hoped, by compelling Henry to comply with the demands of the Romans, to secure their support of his own. But, in the active negotiations that ensued, the young king, assisted by his best diplomatist, his kinsman, Henry the Younger of Brunswick, outwitted the aged pontiff. The monarch, with whose policy no sense of compassion, or regard to implied engagements, was ever suffered to interfere, gained the Romans to his side by agreeing to withdraw his garrison from Tusculum, and abandon the place to their vindictive fury, as soon as he should be received into Rome for his coronation. And now Celestin, in some small measure conciliated by Henry's sacrifice of claim to the authoritative post of patrician, and of some Imperial rights in and over Rome, was constrained by the Romans to give way.

Upon the 14th of April, Celestin himself was consecrated Pope. The following day, after receiving Henry's oath to protect and honour the Church, he placed Imperial crowns upon the heads of Henry and Constance as at the altar they knelt before him for the purpose. There is an idle tale of Celestin's having, after placing the crown upon Henry's head, kicked it off again; apparently a monkish invention, altogether groundless.[185] Few octogenarian princes, spiritual or temporal, unsupported by troops, and even by their own subjects, would venture thus to insult a powerful sovereign at the head of an army; and nothing in Celestin III's pontificate points him out as one of those few; whilst assuredly Henry VI was not the man to suffer an affront, or even an awkward accident, to pass with impunity.

The German garrison was now, according to agreement, withdrawn from Tusculum, and the town thus really delivered up to the Romans; the Pope, upon the brink of the grave, concurring, it is averred, in this horrible surrender of thousands to butchery. Even during the festivities with which, when practicable, it was customary to celebrate Imperial coronations, were the Romans slaking their thirst for blood. For not content, like the reputedly inhuman Frederic Barbarossa, with demolishing fortifications and houses, they massacred by far the larger portion of the adult male population, mutilating those

whose lives they spared, and putting out their eyes. The few sad survivors sheltered themselves with the women and children, amidst or near the ruins of their former homes, in huts constructed with leafy branches of trees. Thence, when a new town arose within a short distance of the annihilated Tusculum, it was named Frascati, from *frasche*, twigs or boughs.

Such horrors were inauspicious accompaniments of coronation festivities, inauspicious as the inauguration of a friendship between the spiritual and temporal Heads of Christendom: who, had they honestly co-operated as Christians, to that end, might have prevented the perpetration of such atrocities. Nor did the friendship thus heartlessly and calamitously inaugurated long subsist. All mention of Sicily had by mutual tacit consent been avoided in the agreement respecting the coronation as Emperor. But now the Pope laboured to dissuade the Emperor from attempting to recover the birthright of his Empress, and to prevail upon him even to acknowledge the Papal vassal, Tancred, as King of Sicily. That he argued in vain hardly need be said, and Celestin, unlike a Pope who durst kick off an Emperor's crown, tried no means stronger than argument.

Towards the end of April, shortly after the departure of the crusading Kings from Messina, the Emperor crossed the Apulian frontier, and upon the 29th took Rocca d'Arce, a supposed impregnable fortress, by storm. This exploit breathed confidence into his party, and so disheartened Tancred's, that in Apulia the very idea of further resistance seemed to have vanished. The nobles hastened to do homage to Henry and Constance; towns and castles threw open their gates at their approach; and as far as the walls of Naples, the country was theirs. The Emperor sought to secure the attachment of his new subjects by confirming the charters of all towns that thus acknowledged him; but he did not, perhaps could not, prevent his feudal army from indulging in excesses and outrages, which such prompt submission ought to have averted. The discontented betook them to Naples, thus reinforcing the garrison, with which Acerra prepared to

defend his brother-in-law's continental capital to the uttermost.

In the month of May, Henry laid siege to this important place. His troops were the very flower of Germany and of northern Italy; both besiegers and besieged made prodigious exertions; and it was soon evident that the siege would be a tedious operation. Thereupon a deputation from Salerno waited upon the Empress, with a petition that she, their Liege Lady and Queen, would not expose her sacred person to the inconveniences and annoyances of a camp, but honour her faithful city of Salerno, by taking up her temporary abode within its protecting walls. Henry, eager to cultivate Apulian loyalty, and too well received himself to feel now much jealousy of Constance, assented, and she was escorted to Salerno.

The siege proceeded; the Pisan fleet appeared, blockading the mouth of the bay; and now Acerra could calculate the hour when famine must compel a surrender. But ere it struck, a more powerful Sicilian fleet, under the gallant Grand-Admiral, Margaritone, a zealous partisan of his former colleague, Tancred, appeared upon the stage; the Pisans were glad to effect their escape by night, and Naples breathed again. It seemed, indeed, that this would be but a temporary respite, for Genoa announced the sailing of her fleet to join the Pisan; a union that must have re-transferred the preponderance at sea to the Imperialists, thus renewing the complete blockade. But the junction had not yet been accomplished, when the usual protection of southern Italy against German conquest effectually relieved Naples.

The heat of summer produced a fatal epidemic amongst the besiegers, the ravages of which were not confined to the lower orders. The Archbishop of Cologne, and the Duke of Bohemia, were carried off by it; Henry himself being at death's door. In the midst of this distress came tidings that Lothar, who was held as a hostage for his father, the Duke of Brunswick's good faith, had died at Augsburg; and immediately afterwards, the Lion's second son, Henry the Younger, deserted the apparently dying Emperor. Flying in disguise from the camp, he first

sought a refuge in hostile Naples; thence making his way by the most circuitous roads—as though dreading pursuit, and some fearful doom if overtaken,—back to Brunswick. He excused this step upon the somewhat ignoble plea that his services in the negotiations with the Pope and the Romans had been inadequately remunerated. But the fact seems to be that, upon his brother Lothar's death, Henry the Younger saw that his own escape from the power of the Emperor would relieve his father from the thraldom, to which the Emperor's holding the persons of his sons subjected him. (186)

The Emperor was not a little troubled by this desertion, which foreboded, at the least, disturbances in Germany; and was now combined with rumours of cabals amongst his Italian allies and subjects, consequent upon the offer of large bribes by Tancred. These manifold apprehensions, added to the fear of losing nearly all his transalpine troops by the epidemic, and to his own utter prostration of strength both of body and mind by the disease, determined Henry VI to yield to necessity. He raised the siege, and retreated northwards, leaving garrisons, under German commanders, in Capua, Sora, and Rocca d'Arce.

Whether he would now have ventured to leave Constance at Salerno, in the hope that the presence of the native lawful Sovereign might keep alive feelings of loyalty, is doubtful, no choice having been allowed him in the matter. The fervent attachment of the Salernitans to their Queen, in whose defence they had sworn to die, had been generated by the triumphs of the Imperialists, and did not outlive their success. The tidings of the Emperor's illness, and of the raising of the siege of Naples, were quickly followed by a report of his death: and now the professed adherents of Constance shrank into obscurity, whilst Tancred's partisans amongst the citizens rose in arms. It is said that, from the time of her arrival at Salerno, individuals of that party had been endeavouring to persuade their hereditary Queen to abdicate in favour of her illegitimate nephew, Tancred. The story is most improbable; for by what argument, or what bribe, could they hope to induce her to renounce her patrimonial crown, thereby irremissibly offending her Imperial con-

sort, whom they then knew to be alive and triumphant? But, whatever their previous measures, they now tumultuously besieged her in her palace. With calm fortitude she presented herself, we are told, in a balcony, and addressed the rioters, first in the language of mild remonstrance and admonition, succeeded, when these proved unavailing, by that of indignation. This was equally so, for troops she had none, and could not now threaten them with the only object of their fear, the immediate vengeance of her husband, since they believed him to be dead. She was altogether defenceless, and easily made a prisoner.

Constance was immediately carried to Sicily, and delivered up to Tancred. She appeared before him in imperial attire, and angrily he accosted her: "Could not the splendours of half a world content thee? Why camest thou to grasp at my dominions? Lo! a just God has visited such sinful ambition upon thy husband and thyself!" With the quiet dignity apparently habitual to her, the Empress replied: "I sought not the dominions of others, but my own kingdom, of which thou hast sinfully robbed me. Our star is momentarily eclipsed, thine will set ere long!" Tancred detained his aunt in honourable captivity.

The Emperor had for the moment no power of regaining his wife; and, committing to Tancred's patron, the Pope, the care of obtaining or extorting her release, he, as soon as his health would permit, returned in all haste to Germany, where his presence was much needed. So, indeed, was it in Apulia, where Tancred and Acerra speedily reconquered all Henry's conquests. Even Capua they took, and only Sora and Rocca d'Arce remained Imperialist.

In Germany, meanwhile, the growl, if not the roar, of the Lion had again been heard. Fear for his sons, if it somewhat restrained him from openly proceeding to active hostilities, had not been of force to coerce the Duke of Brunswick into fulfilling his engagements. He neither ceded half of Lubeck to the Earl of Holstein, nor dismantled Lauenburg; and, one deviation from the narrow path of rectitude ever leading to another, he again violated all oaths and laws, respecting the possessions of absent

absent Crusaders, to invade the Holstein territories. The news of this aggression brought the Earl home from Palestine to defend his patrimony; Bernard Duke of Saxony, and Otho Margrave of Brandenburg—aware of the consequences which the success of this aggression would produce to themselves—armed to assist him; the Lion being, as before, aided by his Danish and Slavonian sons-in-law. In this position, Henry the Younger, when he reached Brunswick, found his father, whom his arrival freed from the last feeble check upon his ambition. War now blazed throughout the north of Germany, and he, who had enkindled it, was believed to be further machinating the election of an anti-king.

The Emperor's return from Italy interrupted the progressive success of the Duke's operations. The Obodrite son-in-law appears to have shrunk from open war with the sovereign of both his father-in-law and himself; the King of Denmark, diverted from German concerns by Danish affairs, materially reduced his succours; and the old Lion made overtures for a reconciliation with his Liege Lord. But Henry VI, exasperated as he had been by the desertion of the son at a moment when he most needed true friends and faithful vassals, and by the father's disregard of his solemn engagements and oaths, was as yet too angry to listen to them. The Brunswick envoys were roughly dismissed, and the ban of the Empire hung for awhile suspended over the head of the perjured rebel.

In December of this year, died Welf Duke of Spoleto, the uncle of Frederic Barbarossa and of Henry the Lion. With his heritage, the Emperor, according to his father's arrangements, immediately invested Conrad, his next surviving brother: upon whom he now likewise conferred the family duchy of Swabia, vacant by the death of their brother, Duke Frederic, before Acre.

The Emperor then applied himself to settling some feuds in southern Germany, and some ecclesiastical dissensions in the northern provinces. In most of these he succeeded to his wish; but one proved a matter of no little difficulty and annoyance. This dispute originated in his own irregular conduct, relative to the election of a Bishop of Liege. The last prelate had been one of the victims of the

epidemic so destructive amongst the besiegers of Acre; and the contentions in the Chapter relative to the choice of his successor ended in the double election of Prince Albert of Brabant and of Albert von Reitest. In virtue of the Calixtine Concordat, the Emperor interfered; lawfully he rejected both; but then, in direct violation as well of that compact as of all religious feeling, *sold* the see for 3000 marks, to Graf Lothar von Herstall or Herstade, Dean of Bonn. The second Albert submitted to his rejection; not so the Brabant prince. He procured a recommendation from his kinsman and Metropolitan, Bruno, the new Archbishop of Cologne, with which he hastened to Rome; and, whilst his brother, Henry Duke of Brabant, waged war against his rival, Bishop Lothar, he obtained from the Pope a sanction of his election, together with an injunction to Archbishop Bruno to consecrate him, and in case Bruno should shrink from thus offending the Emperor, another to the Archbishop of Rheims, to act as his substitute.

When Prince Albert returned, strong in papal patronage, he found the Emperor in arms, supporting his own simoniacal bishop; and obstructing the navigation of the Rhine, as a visitation upon the Archbishop of Cologne for the recommendation he had given. Bruno dreading, as had been anticipated, further to provoke Imperial wrath, declared himself incapacitated by illness for the performance of any of his archiepiscopal functions. Albert repaired to Rheims, where the French prelate readily consecrated him; but, beyond the contested title of prince-bishop, he gained nothing by the ceremony. Lothar kept possession of the see; and at Rheims, whilst preparing to enforce his own, as he alleged, preferable claim, by arms, Bishop Albert was assassinated: why, or at whose instigation, was never clearly ascertained. The murderers were Imperial vassals, who won their intended victim's confidence by announcing themselves as unjustly despoiled of, and expelled from, their fiefs by the Emperor. Bishop Lothar attested, on oath, his innocence of the crime, and for the moment retained his see. The criminals sought an asylum at the Imperial court, and were, in the first instance, so kindly received as to give some colour to the

Guelph accusation of Henry VI, as the secret author of the bloody deed; and, indeed, the chief grounds for acquitting him of complicity, at least, are his subsequent conduct, and the absence of any adequate motive. Fear of having to refund the money received for the see, is the only one conceivable; and it seems impossible that the simoniacal prelate should have dared to publish his own guilt by openly demanding it, which, indeed, Henry ere long dared him to do. For the present, when informed of the falsehood and treachery by which the murderers had accomplished their nefarious purpose, the Emperor banished them from his dominions, and sought a reconciliation with the family of the victim. This he effected by sacrificing Bishop Lothar, and agreeing to a fourth election, which, by pre-concert, bestowed the see upon Prince Simon, a younger son of the Duke of Limburg, and near relation of the Duke of Brabant and the murdered Bishop Albert.

While these transactions were in progress west of the Rhine, the war which the Duke of Brunswick—his pacific overtures having failed—was carrying on with his former vassals, and with his successor in his forfeited duchy of Saxony, grew daily less successful. The King of Denmark's attention was more and more otherwise occupied; he was troubled, if not seriously alarmed, by the aggressive ambition of an illegitimate scion of his house, Waldemar, a natural son of Canute V. And, in addition to this domestic disturbance, he was in danger of being obliged to declare war against France. The cause of quarrel being one in which divers of our *Dramatis Personæ* were successively implicated, must be explained. Philip Augustus, upon the death of his first wife, Isabella of Hainault, had asked the hand of the Danish Princess Ingeborg, with the Danish pretensions to the Crown of England as her portion. Canute VI was well pleased with the connexion, but chose rather to portion his sister with money, than to part with these idle pretensions, and this change was admitted. In 1193, Ingeborg was sent to France, and married to Philip; who, the very morning after the wedding, and, according to some writers,(187) during the ceremony of the new Queen's coronation, pro-

fessed an invincible aversion to her person, originating, it has been suspected, in the alteration of her portion, from what gratified his hatred of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, to money; though in that case it might have been supposed he would simply have broken off the negotiation upon being refused the portion he had asked, which he had not done. But however caused, he indulged his dislike. He accused her of witchcraft, imprisoned her, and upon the strangely imagined plea of consanguinity to his deceased wife—through Charles the Good, the Danish Earl of Flanders, to whom Ingeborg was related on the side of his Danish father, Isabella of Hainault on that of his Flemish mother—sued for a divorce. His uncle, the Archbishop of Rheims, who held legatine authority in France, and his own clergy granted it. Ingeborg was refused an advocate, closely mewed up in a convent, and deprived of her Danish attendants; whilst her whole stock of French seems to have afforded only the ejaculation *Mauvaise France*. She succeeded, nevertheless, in appealing to Rome, earnestly supported by her brother; and the Pope conscientiously refused to sanction a divorce, sought for the mere gratification of a royal whim, grossly offensive to another regal house, and the alleged ground of which was manifestly false. Celestin ordered Philip to take back Ingeborg, and the King disobeyed the Papal mandate. Amidst such circumstances, the King of Denmark would not embroil himself with the Emperor, and afforded his father-in-law little help. The old Lion at length really wished for peace; and, in 1194, he sent his offending son to the Imperial court to apologize for his own desertion, and express his father's wishes.

Henry VI was less indisposed to a reconciliation now than formerly. Lapse of time, consciousness of power, occupation with other affairs, and more recent provocation from other offenders, had all contributed to allay the fierceness of his resentment; whilst the three great objects, to the attainment of which he now looked, as the glory of his reign, were gradually superseding all minor considerations in his thoughts. These objects were—1st, the consolidation of the political condition of Germany, through the universality of the hereditary principle, and more especially

by its recognition relatively to the crown, which would secure it in perpetuity to his own family; 2d, the recovery of his wife's heritage; and 3d, when thus strengthened, the reunion of the East-Roman with the Holy-Roman Empire; and the consequent re-establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem, in vassalage, as the outwork of Christendom. Of these three projects the second must, he felt, take precedence in point of time, and he was eager to free himself from all impediments to a second expedition into southern Italy. Hence he received the deserter more graciously than might have been anticipated; nevertheless he still refused the concession most urgently solicited, to wit—the confirmation of the Duke of Brunswick's usurping resumption of the mesne sovereignty over the lands north of the Elbe, which he had enjoyed as Duke of Saxony. In the very crisis of these diplomatic difficulties an incident occurred that, threatening so to revive the utmost bitterness of Guelph and Ghibeline hatred in Germany, as to render peace actually impossible, ended contrariwise in a revival of friendship, through a reduplication of the ties of kindred.

This incident, one of the few bits of romance that enliven the grave studies of the historical inquirer, is thus related by contemporary Chroniclers. The Rhine Palsgrave Conrad, Frederic Barbarossa's brother, had only one living child left out of a numerous family. This one was a daughter named Agnes, acknowledged by both Lord Paramount and vassalage, the heiress of his principality. Whilst friendship subsisted betwixt Barbarossa and the Lion, her marriage with Henry the Younger, then a second son, had been arranged; and the intended bride and bridegroom, whilst children, having been allowed to play together, had attached themselves warmly to each other. When the Lion rebelled the projected marriage was, of course, broken off.

Agnes was now grown up, and was yet more celebrated for her beauty, and her qualities of heart and mind, than as heiress of the Palatinate. Suitors naturally abounded; but she shrank from every matrimonial proposal, and as yet no match had offered, for which her family deemed it worth while to constrain her inclinations. But her fame

had spread into France, and, in 1194, King Philip holding himself a single man, upon the strength of the divorce pronounced by his own clergy, sought her hand. The Palsgrave laid the offer before the Emperor, who declared it to be his pleasure to see his lovely cousin Queen of France. Agnes and her mother, the Palsgravine Irmengard, were then resident at the Castle of Stahleck upon the Rhine; where a letter from Conrad communicated to his wife the French King's offer, the Emperor's will, and the day upon which he would arrive for the conclusion of the affair. The indulgent mother repaired to the Princess's apartment, where the following dialogue is reported to have taken place.

The Palsgravine said: "A splendid lot, a royal nuptial bed, offers for thee, my child; Philip of France asks thee for his wife." Agnes, greatly disturbed, answered: "Mother, I have heard how causelessly that King has disgraced and divorced fair Ingeborg of Denmark. Such an example frightens me." "Is there any other," the Palsgravine asked, "whom thou wouldst rather have to husband?" And, thus encouraged, Agnes rejoined: "Never will I give consent to sever me from him whose bride I was in childhood, whose beauty, valour, and virtue all tongues commend. He alone has ever been the beloved of my heart, and he alone—what care I for the feuds of men?—shall be my Lord and husband." Irmengard was pleased with her daughter's resolute words, and said, "As thou willest, so shall it be."

There was little time to counteract the Imperial and royal wills, and the Palsgravine lost none. She despatched a letter to Henry the Younger, telling him how her daughter was situated, and bidding him, if he wished to secure his long-promised bride, hasten to Stahleck. Love, it is to be hoped, as much as the prospect of succeeding to the Palatinate, winged the young warrior's steps; and, disguised as a pilgrim, he presented himself at Stahleck the very day preceding that upon which the Palsgrave was expected. By command of the Palsgravine, her own chaplain immediately united the lovers in the sacred bonds of wedlock.

Early next day, the approach of the Palsgrave was

announced; and Irmengard flew to receive him at the outer gate. So officiously affectionate was she, and withal so evidently agitated, that Conrad could not but notice it, and inquired if aught were amiss. She replied: "Lord Palsgrave, yesterday a hawk flew over our fields. He had a brown head and a white throat, with beak and claws well bent to clutch vigorously, and so widely do his beam feathers expand that it is clear his sire must have reared him upon a lofty branch. This hawk, a handsomer I never saw, have I caught and caged." Before Conrad had quite made out the meaning of this allegorical intimation of her unwifelike, independent proceedings, Irmengard had led him into his daughter's apartment, where sat Henry and Agnes playing at chess. They sprang from their seats and knelt hand in hand before him, whilst the mother said: "Here, my Lord, is my hawk, the son of the noble Lion of Brunswick, to whom I have given our daughter as his wife. May you approve what I have done."

Approve the Palsgrave certainly did not. Startled at the bold act he stood long silent, and when at length he spoke it was to say: "It is done without my knowledge; may that be my excuse to my Lord the Emperor."

The Emperor was enraged alike at the contempt shewn of his advocacy of the French King's suit, and at the prospective increase of dominion and power thus assured to a hostile family. He commanded his uncle instantly to dissolve a marriage so criminally contracted. The Palsgrave attested on oath his own guiltlessness, and ignorance of the whole transaction until it was too late; and he strongly represented to his Imperial nephew both the dishonour which the dissolution of her marriage must bring upon the Princess Agnes, and from her be reflected upon all her kindred, the Emperor himself included; and the ecclesiastical impossibility of dissolving a marriage lawfully solemnized and consummated.[188] Henry, who however he might momentarily yield to passion, seldom acted upon its impulse, had now had time to cool; he felt the force of his uncle's arguments, and began to perceive that the alliance might be used to promote his own views and purposes. He forgave all parties, and promised the

bridegroom his future investiture with the palatinate, upon condition of his now prevailing upon his father to submit frankly to the sentence of the Diet, and co-operate like a kinsman and friend in the recovery of the Empress's birthright.(189)

Henry the Younger, accompanied by his father-in-law, now hastened to Brunswick, where, with no little labour, their united eloquence at length persuaded the Duke to purchase the Rhine Palatinate for his son and heir, by submitting to that decree of his brother Princes of the Empire in full Diet, which he had found himself powerless to resist; and also to permit that son, as his representative, and leading his vassals, again to attend the Emperor upon an Italian expedition. The mighty rivals then met, and the old Lion forswore both his grasping ambition and his consequent enmity to the Swabian dynasty of Emperors.

This now cordial reconciliation completed the tranquillization of Germany. The Empress Constance was no longer in the power of Tancred, a sort of hostage for the quiescence of her husband, whose right depended upon her life. She had been released by her nephew, it should seem, in compliance with the earnest entreaty, almost amounting to a command, of Celestin, whose favour he durst not risk forfeiting by disobedience. Different authors have indeed ascribed her liberation to different causes; some to the usurper's fears of the sentiments of loyalty which the presence of the lawful Queen was awakening in Palermo; and others to the sheer magnanimity of Tancred (190). Thus, all circumstances being favourable, deficiency of pecuniary means for his Italian expedition became the only obstacle to Henry's taking the first step towards the achievement of his vast design and of money he about this time obtained a supply in a way that shows his sense of honour and justice overborne by his avarice. For the explanation of this disgraceful source of profit it will be necessary to revert to the termination of the last Crusade.

The homeward voyage of Richard Cœur-de-Lion was yet more harassed and impeded by storms than that to Palestine; his vessel, after much tossing, being driven to the part of the French coast of which the Earl of Tou-

louse was mesne Lord. Upon the territories of his old enemy, whom he must have looked upon as the usurper of one of his maternal counties, the King had no disposition to land, nor yet to traverse the dominions of Philip, whom he knew to be in league with his rebellious brother John, and caballing with his French vassals, to seduce them from their fealty. The north-western district of Italy was equally objectionable, the Marquess of Montferrat choosing to accredit the report of his being the instigator of Conrad's murder. Richard resolved therefore to sail back round Italy, and land, as originally designed, it should seem, at the head of the Adriatic. The Templars having a considerable Preceptory in Dalmatia, endowed by the blind Bela of Hungary in 1138, no curiosity would be awakened by the arrival of a Templar's ship. And thence, in Templar's garb, Richard proposed crossing Germany to the principality of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Brunswick. That this scheme was adopted, not through a reckless thirst for adventure, but to expedite his reaching his own dominions, where his presence was urgently wanted, is evident from Richard's avoiding France and Western Italy, where he knew he must find enemies; and from his judicious arrangements for passing as a Templar; one of the very few characters, besides that of the simple Crusader, which could authorize an expectation of safety in setting foot upon any prince's land without having asked and obtained, whether for money or through courtesy, a safe conduct. Even if discovered, Richard knew of no quarrel with the Emperor that could imperil him, whilst he probably thought the Duke of Austria would hardly venture upon a sacrilege so audacious as injuring a royal Crusader; and he could see little risk of his disguise being penetrated in a country where he was well nigh unknown.

But to the success of this scheme delay was fatal, and already had much time been lost through the tempestuous weather. So much, indeed, that the sister Queens of England and Sicily, whom the damage suffered by the fleet had induced to land in Southern Italy, had been sojourners at Rome long enough to make the non-appearance of the King matter of general remark and surmise. Nor were these delays over. In the Adriatic

another storm had nearly thrown the vessel bearing Richard and his fortune upon the Greek coast, and the Lion-heart knew that his conquest of Cyprus had made the Emperor Isaac his enemy. This danger was surmounted, and again the ship stood out to sea, when she was attacked by two pirate barks, jointly so very decidedly superior to her in strength that not even Richard's arm could render the issue of the conflict doubtful. But, in the thick of the combat, Englishmen were discovered amongst the pirates, and the King's attendants at once, as the last resource of desperation, announced his presence on board their vessel. A spirit of loyalty, or at least of pride in the glory of their chivalrous monarch still clung to the hearts of these lawless men. They instantly threw down their arms; and, as if they had inoculated their comrades with their own sentiments, persuaded them, not only to do the same, but to offer England's hero their assistance. Upon learning his plans, they told him that his having left Palestine in a ship of the Templars was now generally known, and he would be looked for wherever such a bark should land her passengers; but if he would trust himself with them, they would carry him and his company to Zara, where, landing from their boats, he would hardly be noticed. Richard accepted their offer.

Zara, then apparently a thriving commercial town, had long been a bone of contention between Hungary and Venice: and, subject sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other, was often sufficiently independent to become the resort of pirates who had booty to dispose of. There therefore, his new friends landed him without attracting attention. Richard, finding that his Palestine enemies had put their European friends on the alert as to his possible appearance in guise of a Templar, abandoned that plan, and it was under the name of Hugo, a merchant of Damascus, that he entered Zara. In that character he adopted the established mode of insuring protection to mercantile travellers; and sent a present of a ring to the Commandant, with a request for a free passage for himself and his people. But the Lion-heart, who wisely as boldly had trusted his royal person amongst pirates, was ill adapted to achieve an adventure, the success of which

depended upon caution and dissimulation. Entirely upon these did it depend; for the Duke of Austria, aware of his intended journey in disguise, had, in utter defiance of sacrilege and of papal inhibitions, set vassals, kindred, connexions, hirelings, and allies on the watch for the object of his hatred. This is evident from the language of the Commandant of Zara, who, whether he were a Hungarian, a Venetian, or a Dalmatian, seems to have pledged himself to Leopold. The ring was so much too valuable for the occasion that the receiver returned it with this answer: "Not Merchant Hugo, but King Richard sent me this present; and I have bound myself by oath to arrest every Crusader. Nevertheless a Prince who spontaneously thus honours a stranger deserves not unworthy treatment. Let him take back his gift and freely wend his way."[191]

Richard proceeded accordingly; but halted for a night in a town the Governor of which being brother to the Commandant of Zara, had learned from him the King's journey and assumed character. Less generous than his brother, or perhaps more intimately connected with the Duke of Austria, he ordered all the houses in which pilgrims were usually harboured to be searched for the person of the crusading monarch, with promises of immense rewards if he should be found. A Norman knight undertook the business in order to foil it, and diligently visited the hostelries. Upon recognising the King he warned him of his danger, urging immediate departure; and then returning to the Governor assured him that the report of his (Richard's) arrival was erroneous, there being no one like him amongst the pilgrims. These vulgar dangers and escapes were repugnant to Richard's temper, and he re-embarked to proceed, as far as was practicable, by sea; but was wrecked near either Pola or Aquileia,[192] both towns being named, and the precise locality not very material. Whichever were the scene of his danger, Richard and his company with some difficulty made the shore; and the accident, it was hoped, promised to mend his chance of passing unsuspected. Again he set forward.

But Richard's landing at Zara was already known, and Leopold's friends where everywhere looking out for him.

The first whose territories he crossed was Meinhard Graf von Görz, who attacked his little band with utterly disproportionate numbers, and captured eight of them; the King escaping with the rest into Carinthia. Here he learned that Duke Ulrich was as inimically disposed towards him as Earl Meinhard, and bent his steps towards Salzburg; certain that in an ecclesiastical state a Crusader must find security, and be enabled to arrange by negotiation his farther journey. But, ere he could reach this asylum he was surprised near Friesach, by so considerable a body of troops, under Friedrich von Botesow, that his reduced band was wholly dispersed; and all who did not save themselves by flight in different directions were taken. Amongst those who escaped was Richard himself, followed by a single gentleman, Guillaume de l'Estaing, and a boy, who, speaking German, served them as an interpreter. It was now the depth of winter, and for several days and nights they wandered amidst forests and mountains, almost destitute of food or shelter; till at last they unfortunately reached the village of Erdberg, now one of the suburbs of Vienna, where, yet more unfortunately, the King was detained by severe illness, the effect of his privations and fatigues.(193)

Leopold, informed of the several encounters with the detested royal Crusader, had ordered the strictest watch to be kept upon all travellers; and, whilst the most active vigilance was thus called forth, the boyish vanity of the lad, who was habitually sent into Vienna to purchase provisions, might have drawn attention, if slumbering, to the strangers. The young purveyor's selection of expensive delicacies and thorough indifference as to the price, accorded so ill with the lowliness of his garb, as to provoke observation and questions; and his answer, that his master was a wealthy merchant, was discredited by the arrogance of his behaviour; as unsuited to the servant of even the wealthiest trader in those unlevelling days, as were the knightly gloves that he had at times indiscreetly displayed. The suspicions thus excited were strengthened by Richard's own heedlessness, in retaining upon his finger a ring, the contrast between which and his apparel, amazed his hosts.

These circumstances were reported to the Duke, who

commanded the lad to be seized when he should next present himself. He was tortured, and confessed that his master was King Richard. Upon the 21st of December, 1192, the house where the Lion-hearted monarch lay was surrounded. He started from his sick bed to defend himself, when the Duke entered the room, and thus addressed him: "In vain, Sir King, dost thou conceal and disguise thyself; thou art too well known. Do not idly thus attempt to withstand superior force. Thou canst not escape; and be assured that I am rather thy deliverer than thy foe. For hadst thou fallen into the hands of the Marquess of Montferrat, whose people are out seeking thee, though thou hadst a thousand lives they had not left thee one." Richard saw that resistance was indeed hopeless, and yielded to his fate; whereupon he was delivered over to Hadamar von Chunring, to be held in close custody, in the strong castle of Dürrenstein, upon the right bank of the Danube.

Leopold, whose object was rather revenge than the extortion of a heavy ransom, or who at least meant thoroughly to satiate his vindictive passions before proceeding to fill his exchequer, involved the whole transaction in as much mystery as possible. Hence, Richard really seemed to have vanished from the stage of life; and the joy of his rivals and enemies, if somewhat alloyed by uncertainty, could be compared only to the intense, and almost despairing anxiety of his friends and his loyal vassals. Perquisitions were presently set on foot by the latter, but the most diligent and most successful seeker was his favourite troubadour Blondel; who had attended him throughout the Crusade and upon his return, until separated from him amidst the disasters of the journey from Pola. When Blondel heard of Richard's disappearance he assumed the habit of a wandering minstrel; and strolling from castle to castle, of those in which he thought it possible the King might be a prisoner, sang under the walls the first stanza of a lay composed by his royal friend and patron in a species of partnership with himself.

Meanwhile, if the Duke of Austria hoped to break or even to depress his captive's spirit, and to revel in his despondency, he was greatly disappointed. Richard, relying upon an im-

mediate release by ransom, in lieu of betraying any dejection, amused himself, even boyishly, with his guards. Sometimes he would try feats of strength with them, in which they had no chance of triumphing over his incessantly and skilfully exercised Herculean frame. Sometimes he would invite them to a drinking bout, when he plunged them in the deepest intoxication, without damage to his own head; and played them divers similars tricks, that, to the refinement of the nineteenth century, appear unsuited to the character alike of king or knight. At other times he cheated the weary hours of durance, more congenially to modern ideas, by singing, and by poetic composition. One day as he was thus pouring forth a strain of earlier and happier days, a well-known voice took up the second verse. It was the voice of his attached Blondel! Whether any and what further communication took place betwixt the royal troubadour and his poetic brother; whether Blondel, by insinuating himself into the castle, obtained means of receiving a distinct message to convey from the King to his mother, or to his subjects, or at once hurried off with his discovery to those who were to act upon it, is unknown, and not very important.(194)

The very discovery wrought a change in Richard's lot; for no sooner were his position, his captivity, and his jailer known, than the Emperor, declaring it most unseemly for a mere Duke to hold a King as his prisoner, compelled Leopold to transfer the royal Crusader to his custody; upon receiving either a sum of ready money, variously estimated at from 20,000 to 60,000 marks; or, what is more likely, the promise of one half, or at least one third, of the ransom to be extorted, according to its amount. Henry caused Richard to be removed to Trifels, a peculiarly strong castle, in what was then Upper Lorrain, but is now Rhenish Bavaria; where he was closely confined and strictly guarded, but treated with the respect due to a crowned head, which he had not been in the Duke's custody. Negotiations as to ransom were immediately opened, but, Henry's demands being exorbitant, little progress was made.

The sister Queens were still at Rome when the news of Richard's captivity reached them, and they instantly

applied to the Pope. They called upon him to demand, to insist upon his release, urging that his Holiness was bound to protect, with all the thunders of the Church, the person of every Crusader, and not least that of the royal leader and hero of the Crusade. Celestin fully admitted the claims upon him, and interfered; but dreading the Emperor's power, he interfered faintly, and of course fruitlessly. It is indeed very improbable that the most energetic admonitions, exhortations, and menaces, would have been of more avail; but such lukewarm intervention in behalf of her Lion-son, the wronged Crusader, roused the Queen-mother's indignation. From England, Elinor addressed a vehement remonstrance to the Pope. She wrote: "Of yore, Papal Legates were despatched for every trifle; but now, when the most enormous of outrages is perpetrated, when a free King, a Crusader, a hallowed champion of the Cross, standing under the peculiar protection of the Church, is flagitiously imprisoned, no effort is made to procure his liberty, to punish his sacrilegious seizure. Of a truth, the honour of the Church and the tranquillity of Empires are little thought of now-a-days, unless something can be got by upholding them."

This sharp rebuke touched Celestin's conscience, and produced a stronger paternal expostulation, addressed to the Emperor upon his violation of the rights of crusaders; the sinfulness of which offence was enhanced by his ingratitude, in not requiting the Pope's kindness, when, by threats of excommunication, he forced Tancred to release the Empress, with the like kindness, releasing the royal Crusader at his request. Of gratitude, Henry VI knew little, but he loved not useless tyranny; he desired not to keep Richard in prison; and if he had been dilatory in negotiation, it was only in the idea that impatience would spur the caged Lion to pay the higher price for his liberty. He listened, not unwillingly, to the Papal representations; and prepared to conclude a treaty with his prisoner, whom he had indulged with the society and assistance of his Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely. But the first step, that he took in professed obedience to the Papal injunctions, was designed at once to give a less odious colour to the seizure and detention of a free monarch, sacred as a Crusader,

and to assert the Imperial supremacy over all European sovereigns: a supremacy which was then hardly disputed, and to which the most highly esteemed amongst the learned investigators of the political and legal antiquities of Germany[195] maintain the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire to have been entitled. They at the same time admit that few powerful monarchs acknowledged the claim, even limited to a purely nominal supremacy, less even than suzerainty, save when some end was to be attained by so doing.

With this object, Henry assembled an Imperial Diet at Haguenau, before which he brought his royal captive, and caused a sort of indictment to be laid against him. The heads of accusation were as follows:—King Richard had supported Tancred, the wrongful usurper of Sicily, thus obliging the Emperor, at a great expense, to conquer his inherited kingdom.—He had unjustly attacked Isaac, sovereign of Cyprus,—a near relation of the Emperor and of the Duke of Austria (Isaac had married one of the Austrian daughters of the Princess Agnes, according to some authors, according to others, a sister of Duke Leopold's, which a consideration of years renders more likely)—had robbed him of his kingdom, and unworthily treated both him and his daughter and heiress.—In Palestine he had ill-used German pilgrims by word and deed, and especially had, with intolerable arrogance, outraged the Duke of Austria.—He had defrauded all of their fair share of booty.—He had been the instigator of the murder of Marquess Conrad of Montferrat, King of Jerusalem, the most active champion of the Christian cause.—He had received presents from Saladin, to whom he had needlessly abandoned Gaza, Nazareth, and Ascalon. These were the general charges; to which were added the separate accusations laid by the King of France, through an embassador, before the Emperor; Philip Augustus, for the chance of prolonging his rival's detention in prison, thus virtually recognising the Imperial supremacy. Philip Augustus accused Richard of having in various ways wronged him; of having deserted his long affianced bride, the French King's sister, in order to marry the Princess of Navarre; of not having shared with him, as bound by convention,

the monies received from Tancred and Isaac; of having, in Syria, endeavoured, although himself a vassal of the crown of France, to lure away his, the French King's, knights; and to betray his person to the Saracens; and of having sent assassins after him to Europe, whose murderous designs had been baffled only by excessive watchfulness and precaution.

These accusations Richard boldly and decisively answered, after, first, as boldly asserting his regal dignity, by protesting against his amenability to the jurisdiction of the Diet. He said: "Not as being thereto bound, but for mine honour's sake, I am willing, in presence of this illustrious assembly, to refute these base lies with my sword. I made war upon Tancred, whom I found crowned King of Sicily, because he had wronged my sister of her property; and when he satisfied her just claims I made peace with him; both without the slightest reference to his and the Emperor's conflicting pretensions to that kingdom, with which I had no concern. I made war upon Isaac of Cyprus because he had injured Christians, had traitorously robbed and murdered vassals of mine own, and was in league with Saladin. I opposed Marquess Conrad of Montferrat's pretensions to the kingdom of Jerusalem, so long as they appeared to me unjust; but never did I seek his life or the French King's. Whether it was I or the King of France who hastily and prematurely deserted the Holy Land, thus treacherously abandoning it to Saladin, let impartial men say; and if his knights forsook his service for mine, it was because they esteemed their sacred vows above all earthly considerations. King Philip had his due share of all booty, and took a large sum of money to relieve me from the obligation of marrying his sister. Thus no ground whatever has he for complaint against me; but much have I for serious complaint against him, since, in defiance of the prohibition of the Church, and of his own repeated oaths, he is everywhere acting hostilely towards myself and my realms. Finally, if in heat of temper I may have offended any one, I have abundantly expiated it; and there can be no pretence for longer detaining me, a free King and a champion of the Cross of God, in unseemly and sacrilegious captivity."[196]

Richard's words and demeanour made a deep impression upon the assembled Princes; and the Emperor, who now beheld him for the first time, was too clear-sighted not to appreciate his captive. He rose from his throne, and embraced him with assurances of the perfect conviction, produced by his vindication, of his guiltlessness; and with strong expressions of esteem and regard.[197] But, as belief in the calumnious accusations had not been his motive for detaining the King of England in prison—resentment of his alliance with Tancred might have been a subsidiary motive—so was the conviction of their falsehood none for releasing him. The Emperor still demanded an exorbitant ransom, under the name of damages or compensation to himself and Leopold, for the alliance with Tancred, the treatment of Isaac of Cyprus, and the withheld booty—of which withholding he had apparently acquitted the royal captive: and Richard, being in his power, had no choice but to make the best bargain he, or his Chancellor, could. The ransom was at length settled at 100,000 marks, to be received before his prison door was opened; and 50,000 to be paid subsequently; for which last payment hostages were to be given, sixty to the Emperor, and seven to the Duke of Austria. This last sum, however, it was agreed, might be commuted for the execution of some secret article relative to the King's brother-in-law, the Duke of Brunswick; an article that still remains a secret.

When King Philip and Prince John heard of this convention, they offered the Emperor larger sums to break it, and detain Richard in prison, until they should have severally accomplished their criminal objects, *viz.*, have made themselves, severally, masters; the one, of the captive King's French duchies and counties; the other, of his English kingdom. But Henry, if unscrupulous as to the means of attaining lawful ends, would not break his plighted word for a bribe, nor would the Diet, probably, have suffered him so to do. He not only rejected their offers, but proposed to Richard, for whom he really seems to have conceived as much esteem and regard as was consistent with his own interest, to grant him the Arelat, or part of it, to wit, Provence[198] in vassalage; which from its proximity to his Duchy of

Aquitaine he would probably be able to reduce to its former proper relation and subjection: and this achieved, he would be lord of the whole south as well as of the west of France. Richard appears to have been captivated with the idea; and why the scheme was afterwards abandoned, unless from the busy life and early death of each sovereign, is not clear. It has been asserted, that Richard was further compelled to do homage for his kingdom of England to the Emperor, as Lord of the Universe (*domino universorum*), and to promise him an annual tribute of 5000 marks.[199] But, though, as before said, the simple homage was not held to be degrading, and the nominal supremacy of the Emperor was hardly disputed, it is more likely that Richard actually received investiture of the Arelat, and that the old Chronicler mistook the kingdom for which homage was done.

But, if Henry would not perjure himself to oblige Philip and John, or even for a bribe, he was as little inclined to risk sacrificing any possible advantage for the sake of Richard. Hence new delays and difficulties: the sum being too large to be easily raised, notwithstanding the hearty zeal of Richard's vassals and subjects to redeem their chivalrous monarch from a thraldom that they looked upon with loathing, as a dastardly attempt to plunder a warrior, whom none of his enemies durst meet in a fair field. A part only of the 100,000 marks could be paid down, and with that Queen Elinor repaired in person to Germany, to implore the Emperor to set her son at liberty upon receiving hostages for the remainder. The German Princes, ashamed of the prolonged unlawful imprisonment of a royal Crusader, merely to extort a heavy ransom, by which they were not to benefit, strenuously supported the Queen's entreaties, and Henry perforce gave way. Upon receiving the two younger sons of the German Lion, as hostages for their Lion-hearted uncle, he released Richard from durance in February, 1194.[200]

The King of England's passage from the Continent was delayed by stormy weather and contrary winds, so that he did not land at Sandwich before the 20th of March. And now, his liberty closing the transaction in the eyes of his subjects, who felt little conscientious about

paying an unjust debt, or redeeming unknown foreign princes, the difficulty of collecting the sums still due was so much increased, that Richard could pay only trifling instalments, dissatisfying his Imperial creditor. He then applied to the Pope, for the assistance of the Church, in his endeavours to obtain the release of the hostages and some reduction of the debt. Celestin—whose original view of the sacrilegious outrage perpetrated upon a Crusading King, under especial Papal protection, could not be affected by that King's compulsory acquiescence in the payment of ransom, and who has, by one historian at least, been suspected, surely without sufficient grounds, of having resented as an usurpation of sovereignty the Emperor's presuming to judge an independent king (201)—more than complied with his requests. He insisted, with both the Emperor and the Duke, not only upon the release of the hostages and the remission of the money still due, but upon the restitution of all that had been received upon so unjustifiable a claim. Neither Emperor, nor Duke, paid more attention to the injunctions of the Pope, than to the remonstrances of the King. Celestin excommunicated the Duke; whether fulminating the same sentence against the Emperor, or merely renewing, with increased energy, his threat of so doing, seems doubtful.

Of the portion of the ransom actually paid, the Duke of Austria is said to have received about 20,000 marks, or perhaps a third,(202) and a few crusading princes and bishops trifling sums, as compensation for claims to withheld booty. Upon which one modern German historian, Scheller, exclaims: "Little money for great shame!"

In the first part of this exclamation Leopold of Austria evidently would have concurred; he thought the money too little, and sent Richard word that if the remainder of his share was not forthcoming within a very short time, he would put the hostages to death.(203) He did not long triumph in this defiance of Church authority. In the same year, before he could receive from Richard an answer to this threat, he broke his leg by a fall from his horse; and his own clergy pronounced the accident a judgment inflicted by the hand of God, for his contumacious disregard of the Pope's commands, and of the fearful anathema

under which he lay. No leech would set the fractured limb, no servant tend his bed of pain. Not till he had ordered the restitution of the money received in addition to the release of the hostages, could he obtain absolution, the rites of the Church, and medical aid. For the last it was now too late, and Duke Leopold died in the garb of a Cistertian. But his brother monks closed their cemetery against his remains, until his heir, Duke Frederic, and twelve of his nobles had pledged themselves to fulfil his promises. How far they redeemed those pledges is, in regard to the money, at best, doubtful.

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY VI.

Death of Tancred—Henry's acquisition of Sicily—Plots—Henry's excessive severity—Affairs of Germany—Progress in great schemes—Affairs of the Eastern Empire—Death of Saladin—Affairs of Sicily and Apulia—Henry's tyranny—Death. 1194—1197.

WHILST Henry was thus deliberately preparing to renew the war, Tancred remained master of Sicily and Apulia, with the sole exception of the fortresses of Sora and Rocca d'Arce; his tranquillity undisturbed save by occasional forays of the Imperialist governors of those places, and occasional incursions of their Tuscan colleagues; all checked, with little difficulty. But anxiously and diligently did he still, perforce, court the protection of the Roman See; whence probably his release of the captive Empress, and undoubtedly his restoration of divers possessions wrested from that See. But Tancred's career, if prosperous, was brief. At the close of the year 1193, or in the very beginning of the next, his eldest son and colleague, Roger, died, leaving no child by his Greek wife, Irene. Tancred immediately caused his second son, William, to be crowned as his colleague and heir; but William, as yet a mere child, could in no degree supply the place of his active and popular elder brother. Tancred himself was almost immediately afterwards taken ill, and died upon the 20th of February, 1194. William III., being already crowned, succeeded as a matter of course, and the widowed Queen Sibylla assumed the government in the name of her minor son.

The death of the usurper, in the vigour of manhood, coinciding, happily for Henry, with both his reconciliation to the Welfs and his supply of English money, he found

himself in a condition to take advantage of the favourable opportunity. In the month of June of this same year, 1194, again accompanied by the Empress, and at the head of a powerful army, he crossed the Alps. He renewed the former agreements with Genoa, and with Pisa, for the services of their fleets, and again the old doubts and disputes, as to the terms, are rife. Yet upon this occasion the diploma, according to Muratori, exists; that grants, or rather promises to grant to Genoa in fief, half of Palermo, Messina, Naples, and Salerno, with the whole of Gaeta, Trapani, and Mazara. Of Gaeta, at least, the course of events seems to prove that the grant was to Genoa and Pisa conjointly, and to the share of the latter the mesne suzerainty of Corsica was added. Grants lavish enough assuredly; though all, it will be observed, as fiefs in vassalage only; and even so by no means coming up to the Guelph assertions. When, however, the apparent amount of these grants, and the character of the granter, are considered, it were difficult not to suspect that the Emperor, in making such profusely liberal promises, trusted much to the usual rivalry and consequent hostility between these powerful, though small, commercial states, for enabling him to elude the fulfilment. The cities were now, however, upon unwontedly good terms; Clement III having, in 1188, divided Sardinia betwixt them, when the son of Barasone, who fell back to the old family title of Judge of Arborea in lieu of the new one of King, was assigned as a vassal to Genoa.

These arrangements completed, the Emperor advanced to the frontier of the Duchy of Apulia, and, in August, crossed it unopposed, apparently needing the aid of neither fleet nor army to occupy this portion, at least, of the Kingdom he claimed. The Apulian nobles hastened to do him homage, as to their rightful sovereign; the cities, Naples included, threw open their gates, all averring that reluctantly, and only under compulsion, had the usurper been acknowledged. Salerno alone, despairing of pardon for the treasonable seizure and surrender of their Queen to her rival, attempted resistance. Upon the 27th of September, this offending city was taken by storm, sacked, and then burnt; the male inhabitants being in part put to

the sword, the rest exiled or thrown into prison. From Salerno Henry proceeded into Calabria, which submitted like the northern provinces of the realm.

But whether the Emperor did or did not want the succours for which he had bargained, the Genoese and Pisans had been active in performing their part, and promoting, at least, their own interests. The Genoese appear to have again superseded their many Consuls by a Podestà, Oberto di Olivena, a Pavian, solely for the conduct of this expedition, so anxious were they for its success. He exerted himself as expected; and, in the month of August, the combined republican fleets had taken Gaeta. This being one of the places granted them, they immediately obliged the bishop, magistrates, and people, to swear fealty to them. And even here, if the Emperor really had trusted to the rivalry of Pisa and Genoa for rendering extravagant promises nugatory, it became evident that his hopes were not likely to be disappointed; for upon this, their first acquisition, the apportioning of their respective shares produced violent dissension.(204) For the moment, indeed, the quarrel was sufficiently made up, or rather, perhaps postponed to allow of their proceeding conjointly to the conquest of their other fiefs.

But on their making Sicily, discord finally superseded this temporary harmony. Early in September, before the Emperor was yet master of Salerno, the combined fleets entered the harbour of Messina, and landed the troops they had on board; which was scarcely accomplished ere hostilities again broke out between them. They were carried on as well at sea as on shore; when the Genoese gained the victory upon the liquid, the Pisans upon the solid, field of battle. The Emperor was yet far distant, but fortunately an Imperial general had accompanied the auxiliary armament. This was Markwald von Anweiler, who, upon the death of the Duke of Swabia, had returned to Germany, and, retaining his old office in the imperial household, stood high in the confidence of Henry VI. Markwald, who appears to have from the first joined the allied fleets of the rival cities, was much alarmed at this premature explosion of enmity between the auxiliaries of his Imperial master, whilst the object for which their assistance had been sought

was still unattained; Sicily being apparently quite as much disposed to favour the pretensions of William III and Sibylla, as Apulia to acknowledge Henry and Constance. He therefore interposed his mediation betwixt the angry rivals, and partly by persuasion, partly by authority, prevailed upon both antagonists to bind themselves by oath to keep the peace for the future, and reciprocally restore the booty taken in the recent engagements. The Genoese honestly performed this last article of the convention, but the Pisans are accused of having delivered up as the whole of their booty, a shield, a pitch kettle, six instruments for breaking flax, and a basket containing a little cinnamon and one root of galangal.([205]) This affront, added to the unjust detention of property, produced a new affray. The Pisans not only ill used some Genoese, but seized a Genoese ship upon her arrival from Alexandria; and as they were conceived to rank, as usual, highest in the Imperial favour, the Genoese, through fear of Henry's displeasure, forbore to retaliate, though their Podestà, Oberto di Olivano, is reported to have died of grief and mortification. The Pisans prepared to disturb his obsequies with insult, but were prevented by Markwald from thus offending against common decency and the feelings of mankind.

But either this slight restraint upon the indulgence of their enmity and insolence outweighed, in Pisan estimation, all they owed to, and all they hoped from, Imperial favour, or else their leaders had accepted, as they are charged with having done, bribes from Queen Sibylla. For, declaring themselves illtreated, they now refused to quit the harbour of Messina, or take any further part in the contest. The Genoese thereupon the more eagerly fulfilled their engagements to the Emperor. They joined Marshall von Calden, Calaten or Kalanthen—thus variously written is the name of an old Bavarian family, ancestral to the House of Pappenheim, so distinguished in later wars—who was marching to encounter Sibylla's army, shared in the victory he gained, as in the subsequent taking of Catania and Syracuse, and were partners in the atrocities perpetrated, as usual, in the captured towns.

By this time the Emperor, master of the continental

provinces, had crossed over with his army to Messina; and he endeavoured to conciliate the insular portion of the kingdom, by at once granting Messina a charter, rich in civic rights and privileges. At Messina the new Genoese leader, Ottone di Carreta—whom upon the Podestà's death, the sailors and soldiers of the armament appear to have elected as his successor—returning victorious from his short campaign with Calden, presented himself to Henry, and demanded the promised fiefs, in return for the services of the republic's fleet and army. Cautiously evasive was the answer: "You have fought gallantly, as is your wont, and have shown yourselves worthy of your forefathers. But Palermo still obeys the usurper. The capital must be mine, ere the guerdon of services be claimed."

The delay thus gained did not prove long, the Palermitans, like the other Sicilians, discovering as little inclination to support William and his mother against the successful Emperor, as they had previously, to oppose Tancred's usurpation for the sake of the absent heiress. The grand opponent of the German succession, the Chancellor Matteo, was dead; and the next in importance among Tancred's partisans, the Archbishops of Palermo and Salerno—this last being Matteo's son—found it impossible to prevail upon the Palermitans to defend the boy-king against the rightful heir and the half-insurgent island. Under such circumstances Sibylla, with her children and chief partisans, fled from the capital, to take shelter in the strong fortress of Calatabellota; and the Palermitans, who, it may be remembered, had previously incurred suspicion of a preference for the legitimate heir, invited the Emperor and Empress, as King and Queen of Sicily, to take possession of their Sicilian capital.

Upon the 30th of November, 1194, the streets were decorated with tapestry, silks, and other costly hangings; the air was redolent of incense. The whole population, apparelled in festal attire, and marshalled according to their respective ranks and ages, went forth in procession to meet their new sovereign. Encircled by princes and nobles, at the head of his army in military array, the Emperor advanced. He came alone; the Siculo-Norman Queen, the Empress Constance, was not present to par-

ticipate in the triumph of her cause and animate the loyalty of her hereditary subjects; but her very absence was matter of additional rejoicing. After years of disappointment, she was expecting to give birth to an heir of the Sicilies, of Germany, of the Holy Roman Empire; and when the critical moment drew near, it was judged imprudent further to expose her to the fatigue and occasional inconvenience of accompanying the army, and to the risk of being surprised by the access of suffering and danger, at a distance from proper accommodation. She had therefore remained at Jesi, in the march of Ancona, there to await the result of the expedition, and her own hour of agony, of danger, and of hope.

Sibylla, now, either despaired of her son's cause; or judged that, to advance it, she must be at liberty, not shut up with the principal men of her party in a castle, where, if safe, they must perforce be inactive. She therefore made overtures to Henry, who, knowing the impregnable strength of Calatabellota, gladly entered into negotiations relative to William's pretensions. He promised to remunerate his young competitor's renunciation of the crown, with investiture of the principality of Tarento, in addition to his patrimonial county of Lecce; and to assure to all his partisans, upon their submission, safety of person and property. The terms were accepted. The young King laid his diadem at the feet of the Emperor, who was immediately crowned with it in the Cathedral of Palermo.

The goal prefixed by the Emperor being now reached, Carreta again appeared before him, and said: "Lord Emperor, the whole kingdom is, by our aid, subject to thee. Now fulfil thy promises." The Imperial answer is said to have been suggested by some unpatriotic Genoese, who pointed out Carreta's want of lawful authority. But whether so, or wholly Henry's own, it confirms the accusation of disgracefully undignified craft brought by Guelphs against this able member of the Swabian dynasty, and very faintly rebutted by Ghibelines. He said: "Your Podestà is dead; and I see no one here who is properly entitled to speak in the name of Genoa. Let a plenipotentiary from Genoa claim the fulfilment of my promises."

But before such a plenipotentiary could present himself, all the privileges previously granted to the Genoese, including even old ones that they had enjoyed under the Norman kings, were revoked, and the assumption of the title of Genoese Consul ([206]) within the Sicilian realms was prohibited under pain of death.

Why Henry acted so perfidiously towards those who had faithfully and actively discharged all the duties they had undertaken towards him, it is hard to conjecture; unless they really had extorted from him verbal promises, in addition to those recorded in writing, beyond what he could fulfil, without unreasonably deteriorating the kingdom to gain which they were made; or unless, which from the difference of his conduct towards the Pisans seems likely, the extravagant promises were made to the Genoese exclusively, with the single exception of Gaeta, which, it has been seen, they were to share with those rivals and colleagues. For, in direct opposition to this shameful breach of faith towards the Genoese, who had fairly performed their part of the compact, he appears to have frankly kept his word to the Pisans, whose demands, indeed, were more rational, but of whom he had just ground to complain. To Pisa he granted all the promised rights, liberties, and exemptions, together with the mesne suzerainty over Corsica, Elba, and some smaller islands; but in the Sicilies, it should seem, only the right to establish factories. It may be added, that the Guelphism of the one city, and the Ghibelinism of the other, were thenceforward decided.

In regard to the Sicilies themselves, the strictest discipline was maintained amongst the troops. Henry had hitherto discovered no symptoms of tyranny, and all things went on as smoothly as though Constance had at once succeeded to William II, without intervening usurpation or contest. But a scene of savage cruelty, of at best ultra-Draconian law, was now to be enacted, which Guelph writers assert, moreover, to have originated in fraud and forgery; Ghibelines, to have been merely the inhuman punishment of a really detected, treasonable plot. Yet assuredly some were included in the doom who were too young to be truly supposed accomplices. The

proceedings nevertheless certainly bore the aspect of legality, according to mediæval fashion.

Upon Christmas-day, the Emperor, assembling his ministers and councillors, informed them that a monk had just revealed a conspiracy to him, placing in his hands, as evidence, a packet of letters, which he laid before them. These letters implicated in the plot against Henry, besides several prelates, nobles, and officers of state, the whole family of Tancred, children included. Against some of these accused persons, there can be little doubt that Henry would be easily satisfied as to the sufficiency of proof, but as little is there that Sibylla would readily enter into any scheme for the recovery of what she deemed her son's birthright. Whatever the truth of the tale, the Emperor so far took a proper course that he proposed to refer the whole affair to the regular tribunals; the Council applauded the liberality of the proposal, it was adopted, and the Grand-Justiciary, Pietro di Celano, took the matter in hand. In modern times the line of conduct adopted by this functionary would unquestionably stamp the whole history of the conspiracy with falsehood. Without the slightest attempt at investigating the authenticity of the letters, he accepted them as genuine, as irrefragable proof of the guilt of the accused. But such was the practice of the age; the sifting of evidence, the comparison of handwriting, and the like, of a modern Court of Justice, were niceties then undreamt of; as, for instance, Varese, the somewhat partial modern historian of Genoa, in relating a prosecution for conspiracy there, says, that the Podestà did not even lay the accusing letters before the Judges, who convicted the prisoners upon his simple statement that letters proving their guilt were in his hands. Nay, more, Balbo, amidst his praises of the free institutions of Florence, casually mentions that the subordinate Judge, who had presided at a criminal trial, making a false report of it to the Podestà, that supreme Judge, who saw and heard through another's eyes and ears, acquitted the guilty and convicted the innocent. No remark is made, even by these modern writers, upon the system. If, in those days, therefore, Celano permitted his assessors to read the letters in question, he must be accounted a most conscientious

judge. However that may be, he convicted all the accused in the mass, though he sentenced them to various dooms, the atrocity of most of which was certainly intended to gratify the Emperor, if it were not suggested by him, for if he ever had designed to govern the Sicilies leniently, the discovery of this plot completely changed his purpose. Of the prelates and nobles thus convicted, amongst whom were the Grand-Admiral Margaritone, the Archbishop of Salerno, and two other sons of the deceased Chancellor Matteo, many were severally sentenced to be hanged, beheaded, impaled, burnt to death, or buried alive; those, whose lives were to be spared, to mutilation, or loss of eyes, with life long imprisonment. This last, perpetual imprisonment, was the punishment allotted to Sibylla and her family. Nor was the Grand-Justiciary content with living victims, he most incomprehensibly included the deceased usurpers, Tancred and his son Roger, amongst those convicted of, or at least sentenced for, a plot concocted long after their deaths. He accordingly ordered their tombs to be broken open, and the crowns with which they had been interred, but to which they were not entitled, to be taken off their decaying heads.

Henry sent all the prisoners, whose presence in Sicily could be dangerous to his government, of course especially Tancred's family, beyond the Alps. Sibylla, and her daughters, were confined in an Alsatian convent, but not compelled to take the veil; and the youthful ex-King was committed to the castle of Ems in the Vorarlberg. Whether the poor boy were or were not robbed of sight, or otherwise multilated, is another of the unsettled questions of history. The assertion, that he was deprived of more than liberty, does not rest upon contemporary authority; and there is a tradition of his having subsequently effected his escape from prison, made his way over the Alps, and lived and died as a hermit, near Chiavenna; in which assuredly such an enhancement of the interest, and yet more of the marvellous in the exploit, as its being achieved by a blind youth, would not have been missed, had the rumour of his personal ill-usage been as old as the tradition. It must, however, be admitted, that there was no humanizing element in Henry VI, to temper the spirit of

the age; with which such a mode of rendering a rival innoxious, was very consonant. Upon this ground of consonance with the spirit of the age, the most esteemed, perhaps, of German historians,(207) says: "I almost forgive, I, at least, in great measure, excuse this harshness of Henry VI. It belonged to the morals, customs, and manners of the people. Only through such horrors could a nation of fancy so excitable, and that had run wild, be reduced to peace and order." It may be added, that, in those days, limiting the punishment of treason to the ringleaders, or to offenders of the highest class, suffering the inferior class, and therefore the greater number to escape with life, was esteemed an extraordinary degree of clemency.

Nevertheless such punishment of persons who, if criminal and illegitimate were yet members of the royal family, and akin to his Empress, seems even then to have been thought extraordinarily severe; at least if it be true that the Queen-mother of England, Elinor, wrote to the Pope—with whom she was still in correspondence touching the Emperor's determination to extort the whole of her son's exorbitant ransom—urging him to obtain some relaxation of rigour towards the widow and orphans of a king. (208) Upon what ground Elinor should interfere, is not explained; and it can only be conjectured that, having been entertained by Sibylla as Queen of Sicily, she introduced a request in her behalf into a letter, written upon her own son's concerns. If she now aroused the Holy Father, as when she wrote respecting Richard's imprisonment, the exertions of the Pope were now as then unavailing. Remonstrance never turned Henry from what he judged politic; and that leniency to traitors and rebels was contrary as much to his nature as to his policy, may be inferred from another sentence, seemingly his own device, and executed during either this or his next visit to Sicily. One Giordano was accused and apparently convicted of plotting to get the kingdom by marryiag the Queen, of course not waiting for the natural death of her impeding husband, who was some ten years her junior. By Henry's command the criminal was seated upon a throne of red hot iron, with a crown of red hot iron not merely placed upon his head (209) but fastened on with nails!

But to return to Christmas 1194. Upon the very day that heard those sanguinary sentences pronounced, that perchance saw some of them executed, Constance, under such fearful auspices, gave birth at Jesi to her only child, Frederic Roger, afterwards the Emperor Frederic II. Inasmuch as her marriage had for eight years been sterile and her fortieth birthday was now approaching, the partisans of Tancred had represented her pregnancy, from the time it was announced, as suppositious; a calumny that was revived when her son incurred papal enmity. Though through life he showed himself a genuine German Hohenstaufen and Norman Hauteville, he was repeatedly called the purchased offspring of low-born parents; and more than one couple of peasants were named as the mercenary parents who had sold him. The Empress was acquainted with the reports industriously circulated of projected imposture, and endeavoured to refute them by inviting several cardinals and other prelates to be witnesses to the birth of her child. As many as fifteen ecclesiastics of high dignity are said to have in consequence attended. Such precaution to assure a nation of the genuine royal birth of its future sovereign, now so customary that its neglect at once excites suspicion,(210) appears to have been then almost unprecedented.

The birth of a son and heir was first announced to the Emperor by the Graf von Bogen, whom he had outlawed for pertinaciously waging a private war, in defiance of the positive prohibition of his immediate Lord, the Duke of Bavaria, and of his sovereign, the Emperor. For Henry, like all the monarchs of the Swabian dynasty, strenuously exerted himself to suppress private feuds, as a chief cause of disorder; and compel all men, how high soever their station, to submit their quarrels to judicial investigation. It scarcely need be added that the offending Earl's joyful tidings were recompensed, even by the stern Henry, with a full pardon, and a large portion of Imperial favour.

The happy event seems also to have stimulated the Emperor to unwonted liberality in the rewards bestowed upon his champions and adherents; though in most of them he may have been likewise actuated by the desire of

establishing Germans as members of the Italian nobility. To the highly esteemed Markwald von Anweiler he gave the duchies of Romagna and Ravenna with the march of Ancona; to Conrad von Lutzelenhard, the duchy of Spoleto, all or most of which, having been parts of the dominions of the Great Countess, the Popes claimed as Church property. To Diephold, Margrave of Vohburg according to some writers, according to others, a brother of Markwald's,(211) he granted the county of Acerra, as forfeited by Sibylla's brother; and to Roffredo Abbot of Montecassino, the most active of his Apulian adherents, ample territories for his abbey. To his brother Philip, a handsome and amiable young man, of highly cultivated mind, he gave the remainder of the Matildan heritage, with the title of Duke of Tuscany; to this gift he added a permission, by Philip far more highly prized, to rescue from the dreary fate to which the family of Tancred was doomed, the youthful widowed daughter-in-law, the Greek Princess Irene, promised to Philip himself prior to her marriage with King Roger, and whose charms of person and of mind, had now captivated him. With the Emperor's consent, Philip offered his hand to the bride, of whom he had once been robbed, and was gratefully accepted. Their union appears to have been one of extraordinary, though unfortunately not long-lived, happiness. Irene is termed by contemporary poets, "the galless dove, the rose without a thorn."

These grants of possessions which the See of Rome deemed its own, proved keener stimulants to Celestin than Elinor's letters, perhaps even than the claim to papal protection, which he could not but feel that the family of Tancred, whom Clement III had more than encouraged to seize the crown. He was exasperated, and now actually did proceed to fulminate the threatened excommunication against the Emperor. The sentence was doubly grounded, upon the cruelties committed in Sicily, and upon the pertinacious exaction of the full amount of King Richard's extorted ransom. The Emperor paid no more regard to the thunders of the Church, than to the sentiments and remonstrances of the Empress; who, upon her recovery, immediately rejoined him, and who, if somewhat stern and ambitious, both felt that Tancred's

children were of her own blood, and appears to have entertained a deep sense of her duties towards the nation hereditarily committed to her charge. For awhile he remained similarly unmoved by the opinions and feelings, now pretty openly expressed by the Sicilians: who were disgusted as much possibly by his German manners and habits, as by his haughty implacability, and who held themselves vassals of Constance, but not his, nor owing him the allegiance due to her. They now required him to leave to his Empress the government of her own kingdom, and, for a while at least, withdraw to Germany. For some time he sternly refused to intrust authority to a woman, whilst they resolutely denied that in the Sicilies the sovereign authority was his to intrust or to refuse; and so powerful was their party, and so rapidly did it increase, that the imperious despot ere long found it necessary to give way. Before the end of February, 1195, he did thus quit Sicily, leaving Constance, however, in the position rather of his vicegerent than of an independent Queen. He spent some time in visiting the continental provinces of the kingdom and then repaired to Lombardy.

There he found the usual rivalries, reciprocal hostilities and internal disorders. As a sample of the height to which these last ran within the towns, it may suffice to state that, in the preceding year, 1194, the Bolognese, becoming dissatisfied with their Podestà, seized him, threw him into prison, there extracted his teeth—not metaphorically—and then, as an act of grace, turned him out of the town. Amidst such troubles and convulsions the Lombard League had just been renewed for thirty years, and Henry found his influence, as well as his actual power, much diminished; the result possibly of his conduct in the Sicilies, and towards the Genoese. At Pavia, where he arrived in May, he was met by a Genoese deputation, with the Archbishop at its head, sent to demand the promised grant of Sicilian and Apulian fiefs, or rather, it would seem, the independent possession of the districts therein comprised. This he positively refused, declaring that he could admit no partnership in sovereignty—a reasonable plea, had it been advanced when the demand was first made. In lieu of their ruinous claim, he offered

pecuniary remuneration of the Genoese services, together with his assistance in the war then carrying on between Genoa and Aragon. But the Genoese insisted upon their bond, and they parted mutually exasperated.([212]) In fact, all that the Emperor could accomplish during this sojourn in northern Italy, was to give the Imperial sanction and ratification to a Ghibeline League formed by Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, Como, and Bergamo, with the Marquess of Montferrat, and to Cremona's claim of mesne suzerainty over Crema, Lucca, and Guastalla.

Thence the Emperor returned to Germany, intent upon achieving the second of his three great schemes, to wit, consolidating Germany, and rendering the monarchy, when thus stable in all its parts, hereditary in his own family. The moment seemed propitious. Henry the Lion, whether at length tamed by age, or by the Emperor's having two of his sons in his power—although hostages for the King of England's ransom, they were also virtually responsible for his good faith—had honestly observed the terms of his last reconciliation, and remained at peace with his neighbours—some evidence that they were seldom the aggressors. He now dwelt quietly at Brunswick, occupying himself with the improvement and decoration of that favourite residence, with devotional practices, and with collecting old chronicles. These he caused his chaplains to arrange in due chronological order, transcribing such as he could only borrow. They were read to him at all his spare hours; and he is said to have taken such pleasure in listening to these records of the past, that he spent whole nights so engaged. Amidst these tranquillizing pursuits he had so completely disciplined his naturally restless and ungovernable temper, that he now bore, without murmur or complaint, an illness tedious as painful; and expired with the words "Lord be merciful to me, a sinner!" upon his lips. He died the 6th of August 1195, dividing his possessions, reduced as they were, amongst his sons. A pernicious custom of German princes, which gradually crumbled Germany into tiny principalities, eaten up by the expenses of a court with civil and military establishments, and always at variance amongst themselves consequently powerless against

foreign enemies, even could any enlarged national patriotism have existed amongst such multifarious, often rival, petty states. Exactly how this division of Brunswick was arranged seems somewhat uncertain; the most usual statement is, that Henry the Younger, the eldest of the surviving sons, inherited the Dukedom of Brunswick, Otho, Haldensleben; William, Luneburg and Lauenburg. Nevertheless Henry will hereafter be seen to demand the addition of Brunswick to his share, in compensation of other losses. As the whole was ultimately reunited in the hands of the youngest, William, the question is fortunately not very material. In November, the death of the Rhine Palsgrave added the Palatinate to the new Duke of Brunswick's patrimony.

But, if the Emperor found him he most feared peaceful, and upon his death bed, Germany was not therefore tranquil. Feuds were, as a matter of course, everywhere rife, though for the most part such as were easily appeased by his authority, and not unfrequently converted into sources of acquisition for the crown. One or two only of these can be worth specifying. The before mentioned family feud in Misnia had revived, if a little less offensively than before, being in a fratricidal instead of a parricidal form. The old Margrave was dead, and his eldest son, Albert, whom he had endeavoured to supersede, having lawfully succeeded to the principality he had sought to usurp, was at war with his younger brother, Dietrich, for the large portion of the family domains bequeathed him by their father. The contest ended abruptly by the sudden and certainly suspicious death of Margrave Albert and his wife; that they were poisoned no one doubted, but as to the poisoner opinions were divided. Most persons accused him whose interest in their removal, whilst yet childless, was apparent,—the brother; but the Guelphs boldly charged the crime upon the Emperor; and assuredly he it was who reaped the profit; for, without taking the slightest notice of Dietrich's right of succession, as though his guilt had been proved, the Emperor occupied the margraviate as a lapsed fief, to be disposed of at his pleasure.

The feud between the Archbishop of Bremen and the

Earl of Holstein, Henry likewise rendered profitable to himself. The Earl had expelled the prelate from his principality, for having confederated with the deceased Duke of Brunswick in his last rebellion; and the prelate had sought support at Rome. He obtained from Celestin a bull confirming him in his see, and commanding his immediate re-instalment therein. Thus armed, he returned, to triumph, as he hoped, at once, over his enemy; but the Emperor refused to acknowledge the Pope's authority in such matters, until the Archbishop purchased the recognition by the payment of a heavy fine.

But all this, and more of the same nature, was insignificant in Henry's eyes, save as obstacles impeding, or means to advance his second grand object, to wit, making the Empire hereditary in his family. For this, as before said, he thought the time propitious, alike by the birth of his own son, by the death of the old Lion, by the blending of the Welf interest with his own, through the marriage of the young Duke of Brunswick,—which placed his descendants, if not himself, in the line of succession—and finally by his own possession of two hereditary realms, Sicily and Apulia, of which to offer the annexation as integral provinces of Germany. The outline of his scheme was, in addition to this offer, to recognise and legalize the still illegal, though now habitual hereditary succession to fiefs, of all kinds and all degrees; to win the ecclesiastical princes by renouncing for ever the royal and imperial claim to the property left by churchmen, whether prince-prelates or parish priests, thus admitting their right to dispose of it by will; and in return for all these concessions,—and for the renunciation of some other feudal rights, as, *e. g.*, that of disposing of maids and widows in marriage—to ask, as the key-stone of the new system, the extension of the hereditary principle to the crown. This scheme of reform, well digested in all its parts, the Emperor laid before successive Diets, held at Mainz, Gelnhausen, Würzburg, Frankfurt, and Worms; and he laboured hard, by argument, persuasion, granting of charters with divers privileges, and perhaps some little bribery, to carry it through. The degree, to which the hereditary principle, though maintained to be contrary to law by the Emperors, was now

established in all fiefs, might seem to render Henry's offer of legalizing it almost nugatory; for, to give a single instance of the completeness of its establishment, Otho II of Brandenburg, fearing the extinction of the male line of his house, surrendered in 1196, nearly the whole of the Old Mark, to the archiepiscopal see of Magdeburg, of which he already held several masculine or sword fiefs, to receive the whole back in spindle or female fiefs. Since to none, therefore, was the recognition of a right which they had so thoroughly brought into action, material enough to make them zealous in the business; the Emperor can hardly have been much dissatisfied with the result, when upon the first moving in the matter, fifty-two temporal princes signified in due form, their approbation of, and assent to, his proposal. He might fairly look to winning hereafter, by separate negotiations, many even of the most important of those who now hung back, unwilling alike to confirm, to their own vassals, the right they themselves had usurped, and to renounce their chance, however remote, of the crown. From the Church, on the other hand, Henry encountered insuperable opposition. If the inferior clergy were well pleased with a plan that secured to them the disposal by will of their little property, the ecclesiastical princes, and all who were in a position to aspire to that dignity—rallied under the banner of their Primate, the Archbishop of Mainz. This prelate, imbued with the very spirit of Rome, asserted that any and every claim upon property left by churchmen, being founded in injustice,(213) the renunciation of such an illegal pretension was no concession, was merely conforming to the law; and could, therefore, be no compensation whatever to the principal prelates, for robbing them of the right of chusing their sovereign. Lastly, the Pope, who saw that the proposed change must necessarily annihilate the Papal pretension to conferring the Empire as a free gift, and to the consequent superiority of the Papal giver over the Imperial receiver, strained every nerve to foil it. And loudly did Celestin protest against an innovation that would despoil the German prelates of one of their most valued rights.

To carry his point in spite of the Pope and of the eccle-

siastical princes of Germany the Emperor felt to be impossible; wherefore, contenting himself for the present with the progress made, he postponed all further negotiation concerning this object, perhaps till the crown of the East-Roman Empire, should give him additional means of purchasing or compelling acquiescence with his will. Meanwhile, he turned his thoughts to otherwise accomplishing the small portion of his large scheme most individually interesting to himself, namely, the succession of his son. Again, the Archbishop of Mainz opposed him; but ultimately gave way, and he prevailed upon the princes, spiritual as well as temporal, in return for his compliance with their wishes in dropping his proposal, to elect the baby, Frederic Roger, King of the Romans.

The accomplishment of one part of his gigantic project, the recovery of the Empress's heritage, and his unsuccessful endeavour to carry the second, the rendering the German, and consequently, the Imperial crown hereditary, had not so engrossed the Emperor, that he had not been likewise preparing the way for the attainment of the third—the re-union of the Eastern with the Western Empire. He had demanded of the usurping Greek Emperor, Isaac, the cession of a district conquered by the fleet and troops of William II of Sicily, and extending from Epidamnus to Thessalonica, both inclusive; which he affirmed to be part of the Empress's heritage, stolen by Greek craft, amidst the disorders of Tancred's usurpation. He had likewise called upon Isaac for effective support to the kingdom of Jerusalem; as being yet more especially an outwork to the Eastern Empire, than to Christendom at large. And to these demands he had added complaints of the inhuman treatment of some Sicilian prisoners taken in the last war, who had, it was alleged, been starved to death in their dungeons.

But, if to Isaac these demands and complaints were addressed, not with him was the negotiation respecting them carried on. In April, 1195, his brother Alexius Angelus, taking advantage of the general dissatisfaction, deposed, imprisoned, and blinded the usurper, to reign as wrongfully in his stead. The new usurper invited the German Envoys to an audience, at which he thought so

to dazzle them by Oriental magnificence, that in sheer bewilderment they would abandon all their demands. They coldly remarked: "If the Greeks do not at once accede to every one of our Emperor's demands, they must straightway defend their riches with the sword, against men who know how to conquer the gewgaws they disdain." Alexius III was terrified; he not only acceded to every demand, but engaged to pay a heavy indemnity for the delay in the settlement of the business, which, the envoys alleged, his rebellion against his brother had occasioned. This sum he endeavoured to raise by a tax laid indiscriminately upon noble and plebeian, upon clergy and laity. But the imposition of such a tax alienating all classes from the monarch who imposed it, he abandoned the measure in alarm, and had recourse to the arbitrary seizure of church plate and jewels, and the plunder of Imperial monuments. When he would thus have violated that of the founder of the city, Constantine the Great, he found that other plunderers had forestalled him, leaving him nothing.

Alexius had been the more amenable to fear of German arms, from the circumstance of a new Crusade—as usual a subject of terror to Constantinople—being even then in process of organization. Since the conclusion of the truce with Saladin, changes had occurred in the East, offering a chance of re-establishing the kingdom of Jerusalem, too favourable to be neglected by the Pope. These changes unavoidably awaken regret, that the royal Crusader of the lion-heart had not remained in Palestine to profit by them, even whilst conscious that the profit would have been pretty much confined to his own feelings and to his European reputation—in Syria, his fame was scarcely susceptible of addition;—for under the circumstances of Europe and of Asia, it is indisputable that the fall of the Syro-Frank states could only have been delayed. Five months after Richard sailed from Acre, his great antagonist, Saladin, died!

The death of this perfect type of Moslem heroism was analogous to his life. He had employed the leisure from warfare allowed him by the truce, in visiting, statesman like, the different provinces of his empire, now

extending from the Lybian desert to the sources of the Tigris, and from the southern extremity of Arabia to Mount Taurus. He had examined into the state of those that most seemed to need the master's eye, especially his most recent acquisitions, where he diligently remedied evils and arranged the government. He determined to make Jerusalem his habitual residence, and directed the Cadi Bohaeddin there to build colleges and a hospital, whilst he himself returned to Damascus to prepare for that indispensable religious duty of every Mohammedan, a pilgrimage to Mecca; as soon as the political duties of his station should permit his undertaking it. At Damascus, he was seized with a high fever, from which he had scarcely recovered, when the approach of a caravan of pilgrims returning from the Holy City of Islam, from the performance of that very duty, with all the rites enjoined by their Prophet was announced to him. He rode forth to pay due respect to the now sanctified pilgrims, by meeting, and escorting them into the city. He rode forth, in Kurd hardihood, without a cloak, and the day proved wet. The late fever, following upon repeated indisposition, had impaired the original Kurdish vigour of his constitution, and a relapse was the consequence. The Sultan took to his bed, and despite the science and the cares of his body physician, the learned Jew, Maimonides, never rose from it more.

Before taking a final leave of this remarkable man, a few more words, with an anecdote or two concerning him, may not be unwelcome. One, in proof that he was by nature both clement and tolerant, notwithstanding the massacre of the monastic knights, and another act of well-meant, or perhaps, unavoidable intolerance, to be afterwards told, shall lead the way. Two Cistertian monks had visited his dominions in missionary zeal, hoping to convert the Mohammedans, and in their preaching they dwelt much upon the duty of fasting, of which they were doubtless examples. The Imams would fain have put these aggressive unbelievers in Mohammed to death; but Saladin forbade, declaring that the good will to the Arabs which had induced the monks to incur the danger, must not be thus repaid; and plotted, it should seem, a practical refutation of one of their doctrines. Wine was

supplied to the abstemious cenobites, and whether they were weakened by long abstinence, or whatever might be the cause—such truly zealous missionaries cannot be suspected of habitual intemperance—they indulged indiscreetly in the unexpected cordials. So indiscreetly indeed, that all thought of their monastic vows was obliterated; and inebriety betrayed them into the snares of two courtezans commissioned to entrap them. In this disgraceful position they were surprised and brought before the Sultan at his public audience, when he thus quietly addressed the abashed missionaries: "See how much better than yours is our law, which allows the use of meat to strengthen the body, and prohibits wine, that temporarily destroys the mind."

Yet, thus tolerant by nature, he is said, to have considered philosophy as a study inimical to religion, and certainly commanded the execution of one Yahia, a philosopher, poet, and physician of Aleppo, upon the charge of being a sceptic, if not an atheist. He might possibly fear to incur the charge himself if he refused to sanction the doom; but it is more likely that he really deemed the misfortune of entertaining such opinions a crime deserving death. So decidedly did he herein only go along with his age, that his admiring biographer Bohaeddin relates this sentence without a remark, as if a matter of course; yet censures, as an act of weak scrupulousness, his refusal to break his faith, plighted for the security of Christian pilgrims, and massacre those who, upon the conclusion of the truce, flocked to Jerusalem; (214) their numbers being so great that their loss must have very decidedly weakened the Kings of Jerusalem and England. Bohaeddin, who blames this scrupulous observance of his word by Saladin, records an instance of an equally strict observance of it in an opposite direction, evidently without blame: and, whether true or false the anecdote illustrates the sentiments of the age. It will be remembered that, in retaliation of the massacre of the Acre hostages, Saladin had sworn to behead all Christian prisoners. Bohaeddin relates that one sentenced victim strove to avert his fate by pleading that he had, upon that very occasion, rescued a Mussulman. The Sultan asked, "Was it an Emir?" and

was answered, "No, I am too poor." All present implored his pardon: Saladin remained silent, and without a word in reply went forth to prayers. That duty performed, he mounted his horse and rode through and round his camp, as usual, inspecting every detail. When he returned to his tent, he ordered the prisoner's immediate decapitation.(215) Now as Richard certainly did not take ransom for any of his hostages, the prisoner's supposed answer discredits the anecdote. But it nevertheless shows the feelings, real or supposed, of Saladin, his ministers, and friends.

In illustration of Saladin's tenderness as a father, it is related that a Frank embassy chancing to be presented to him when he was playing with his youngest son, the child, frightened at the apparition of figures and dresses so strange to him, began to cry and scream; whereupon the Sultan, instead of sending the troublesome urchin to his nursery, entreated the embassadors to defer their audience in compassion to his terrified little boy. But if he thus spoiled his children in their infancy, he endeavoured, at least, to remedy the evil by good advice when he hoped they were capable of understanding and profiting by it. In proof of which, the counsels, excellent, if often grounded upon motives redolent of self-interest, with which he dismissed his best-loved son, Daher, to the government of Aleppo, just intrusted to him, shall close the account of this favourite hero of Moslem and Christian romance. He bade him:—"Honour the Most High God, the fountain of all good, and observe His commandments; for that will bring thee happiness. Beware of shedding blood, for shed blood slumbers not. Win the hearts of thy people and watch over their welfare, for they are intrusted to thee by God and by me. Win the hearts of the Emirs and distinguished men, for only by my indulgence have I reached the height on which I stand. Hate no one, for death awaits us all. Injure no one, for man forgives not till he has consummated his vengeance: only God, the all merciful, pardons upon repentance."(216)

Saladin had, during his life, assigned the government of divers provinces and states to his sons, brothers and nephews; and appears to have died without making

testamentary or even verbal provision as to the succession to his empire.(217) Probably he either supposed that his eldest son Afdal would naturally take his place, or thought the intrusive Franks now so debilitated as to supersede the continued necessity for such extraordinary consolidation of power to effect their expulsion. The result of Saladin's making no arrangement was that his eldest son Malek el Afdal, assumed to be the heir, was acknowledged as such, and received the oaths of allegiance. But he was totally unfit to rule such an empire, and each of his sixteen brothers, of his uncles, and of his cousins, managed to retain as a principality what, under Saladin, he had held as a government. Thus Malek Afdal was Sultan of Damascus; Aziz, the second son, of Egypt; Daher, the third, of Aleppo, &c. His younger sons and nephews had only the title of Emirs of different cities and districts. Amongst all these princes Saladin's already often mentioned brother, Malek el Adel, appears to have been the only one who, in point of ability or unity of purpose, bore the slightest resemblance to himself. They all presently quarrelled. The details of such family intrigues and dissensions, unconnected with great national interests, even if involving the fate of millions of human beings, are usually too revolting, as well as too tedious, to be unnecessarily developed. In respect to these Kurdish kinsmen it will be enough to say, that, whilst they were striving to despoil each other of some portion, and often of the whole, of their respective shares, Malek el Adel first honestly played the part of a mediator amongst his numerous nephews; then, finding the task hopeless, and perhaps disgusted with their moral and intellectual deficiencies, turned his attention to his individual aggrandizement, and seized every opportunity of adding some of their possessions to his own allotted portion of the contested territories.

Henry, the new King of Jerusalem, in the absence of a crusading army, had no means of profiting by this division of the hostile forces. The Sheik of the Assassins is indeed said to have offered him his friendship and the use of his murderers; but even had such an ally and course of action been suited to a Christian ruler, to have lessened the number of his enemies would, in this instance, have

proportionately diminished his chance of safety. His only other ally was Leo Prince of Armenia, whom he gained by negotiating a peace between him and the Prince of Antioch; which the marriage of Bohemund III's eldest son and heir, with Leo's niece, Alice, a daughter of his deceased brother Rupin, sealed; and also by sanctioning, upon the same occasion, his assumption of the title of King. But Leo was a very insufficient support. Warriors at home Henry had none, except the military Orders, who hardly acknowledged obedience to be due from them to the King of Jerusalem, and were moreover at strife with each other for temporal objects. Nor was his fragment of a kingdom thronged, as might have been hoped, with immigrants from the provinces conquered by the Mohammedans. Saladin had insured, to all Christian inhabitants of those provinces who chose to remain under his sceptre, the full possession of their property; and those, who did not avail themselves of his offers, returned to Europe, rather than seek new establishments in the evidently sinking Syro-Frank states. Even many inhabitants of the provinces still subject to Henry and Isabel followed their example; and the King himself, it was suspected, was not indisposed to do the same. For he constantly refused to be crowned; not from Godfrey de Bouillon's religious scruples, but, because, as long as that ceremony was unperformed, he held himself free to return to his county of Champagne. Once crowned, he felt that he should be pledged to devote his whole life to his precarious Asiatic kingdom.

But he did not permit such feelings to interfere with his duties to that precarious kingdom. Most strenuously did he exert himself for the preservation of its remaining, and for the recovery of its lost, provinces. Incessantly he urged the Pope, the Emperor, and his two royal uncles, not to suffer this, perhaps unique opportunity to escape them. Nor were these prayers and expostulations, with the exception of those addressed to Philip Augustus, poured into deaf ears. Celestin warmly embracing his views, had both proclaimed a Crusade, and sent Legates every where to preach it, to repeat and enforce King Henry's statements and arguments; as an

additional spur prohibiting, until this duty of Christian men should be accomplished, all tournaments and martial sports. Of the monarchs, he, upon whom he would most have relied, Richard, pining, when his nephew first attempted to invoke his aid, in an unknown prison, and now but just released from confinement, with his dominions assailed on all parts, and his ransom still in great part due, was in no condition to undertake the new Crusade, with which at his departure he had threatened Saladin. Hence, Philip Augustus being clearly out of the question, it was the Emperor whom the Pope exhorted to lead the expedition, in emulation of his father. It might be inferred from this proposition that Henry was rather menaced with excommunication, than actually under the sentence; and whether he was so or not, is a question still not positively answered; although, as will presently be seen, it is difficult to doubt his being included in the sentence fulminated against the captors and jailers of the royal Crusader. At all events, Celestin, zealous in the cause of Palestine, and not personally hostile to the Emperor, seems to have been willing to allow him this additional means of atoning for his offence. A Crusade, for the strengthening of the kingdom he designed for his own outwork against the Moslem, entered into Henry's views; as did the prospect of conciliating the Pope, and even inducing him to overlook his extortion from Richard,—now no longer a Crusader,—whilst advancing papal objects. He declined to lead the army in person, because his presence in Europe was, for the moment, indispensable to the success, not only of his own schemes, but of the Crusade itself, which he zealously exerted himself to promote. Accordingly, at an Apulian Diet, that he had held at Bari, upon his road home from Sicily, he had pledged himself to send 1500 knights and as many warriors of inferior rank to Palestine, maintaining them there for a year. He had likewise promised his support to the Legates, visiting his dominions to preach the Crusade; and it was preached at the several Diets he had held since his return. The Archbishops of Mainz and Bremen, the Bishops of Würzburg, Passau, Ratisbon, Prague, Halberstadt, Naumberg, Zeiz, and Verden, the new Rhine Palsgrave, the Dukes of Austria,

Brabant, Limburg, and Carinthia, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Earl of Holstein, with many nobles of less rank and power, took the cross: but some, afterwards repenting of their zeal, proved dilatory in the performance of their vow, and Margrave Otho actually obtained a papal dispensation from his. The more steadfast, with their vassals and followers, and the Emperor's quota, formed two bodies. Of these, the one from the north of Germany performed the whole distance by sea; landed, as usual, in Portugal, for refreshment and a skirmish with the Peninsular Mohammedans; helped Sancho I to recover Lisbon; and then proceeded on their voyage The other was joined by Margaret, the French Queen-dowager of Hungary,—who, having sold her dower to equip a band of Crusaders, led them in person. This division, estimated at 60,000 men, took its road through Italy, to embark, by Henry VI's invitation, at one of his southern seaports for Palestine. Its numbers, joined to the rudely overbearing demeanour of the Germans in what they deemed a conquered country, awoke a very general apprehension, that the Queen's consort had fraudulently sanctioned the Crusade, in order to employ the Crusaders in enslaving his Italian and Sicilian vassals. These suspicions gave birth to some disorders and bloodshed; but the fears were allayed, and the Crusaders embarked in ships provided by the Emperor, under the command of Conrad, Archbishop of Mainz;[218] to whom, glad probably to be for awhile rid of him, he transferred his own authority over them.

This was the Crusade, the preparations for which had so terrified Alexius Angelus for his own safety, as to induce his prompt submission to the demands of Henry VI. He had not indeed as yet fully complied with those demands; the cession of the district was not completed, nor had he succeeded in collecting the sum of money he had pledged himself to pay. And before he was quite ready to perform his engagements, the danger at which he had trembled had, as he flattered himself, wholly passed away.

In the autumn of the preceding year, 1196, the Emperor, deeming sufficient impulse given to the Crusade, had returned to Sicily, leaving his brother Conrad Duke

of Swabia, as his vicegerent in Germany, charging him, amongst other commissions, with the chastisement of the Duke of Zäringen, who had in various ways offended him. The utilitarian inclinations that had been apparent in the early Dukes of Zäringen—who, it may be remembered, founded Freyburg in the Brisgau in the hope of deriving from that town such wealth as the commercial prosperity of Cologne afforded its archbishop—had been perpetuated in the family. These Dukes, unlike their contemporaries, preferred the occupations of peace to those of war; their territories prospered; they were now opulent as powerful, and continued to be, as from the first they had been, habitually opposed to the chivalrous Emperors of the Swabian dynasty. Duke Bertold V had refused alike to attend the late Emperor in his Crusade, to take part in that now organized, and to assist Henry VI in any of his Italian expeditions; and he now alleged the founding and fostering of Berne in Switzerland, as the engrossing business that must detain him at home. But neither were these sins of omission his only offences; nor peaceful pursuits the sole means employed by him to augment his power. He had taken advantage of Frederic Barbarossa's Crusade, of Henry's frequent absence in Italy, and of the death of Otho Earl of Burgundy, leaving a little daughter as his sole heir, to subjugate no small portion of the County of Burgundy, that old object of the ambition to the Dukes of Zäringen.[219] And for these several offences the Duke of Swabia was charged to carry war into the Zäringen territories.

The commission was much to the taste of Conrad, a bold and skilful knight, but unfortunately a slave alike to his passions—amongst which thirst for the excitement of war ranked high—and to his appetites. He invaded the Zäringen country; Bertold, unable to make head against him, retreated before him; and he advanced victoriously into the very heart of the ducal domains. But there, at Durlach, his triumphant career was prematurely arrested, and he fell a victim to his own vices. The fact is certain, although the particulars of his fate are not; being variously related by various writers. According to one account, he was slain by an injured husband, who surprised him

in his wife's chamber. According to another, a virgin to whom he offered violence, either in her wild struggles to preserve her purity, bit him so severely in the eye that inflammation ensued; or stabbed him with his own dagger, which she snatched from his belt; and of the one or the other he died in three days. And again, another version makes the unfortunate lady, whether wife or maid, thus avenge the outrage, the perpetration of which she had been unable to prevent.(220) But, whatever were the manner of the catastrophe, Conrad, through the unbridled indulgence of his licentiousness, died in the very midst of victory. His death left Germany, for the moment, without a ruler; but, as Duke Bertold, upon this occasion, acted only on the defensive, it likewise suspended hostilities.

When these melancholy tidings reached the Emperor, he immediately conferred the duchy of Swabia, and the other fiefs left vacant by Conrad's death without children, upon his youngest, and now only, brother, Philip; whom he likewise named his Imperial vicar in Germany. Philip hastened thither, to solemnize his marriage with Irene, in the neighbourhood of Augsburg, to receive the homage of his new vassals, and to exercise his vicarious, imperial authority. He did not renew the war with Zäringen, judging the lesson the Duke had received, it may be presumed, sufficient; and in the discharge of the high functions intrusted to him, he appears by his mildness and courtesy to have gained general esteem and good will. But his chief business in Germany was, to obtain from the Princes the confirmation of his royal nephew's election, and their promise forthwith to crown him as King of the Romans at Achen. The Crusade had now taken out of his way the Emperor's former opponent in this election, the Archbishop of Mainz. The next important personage upon such questions, the Archbishop of Cologne, was equally opposed to it; but Philip addressed himself sedulously to gain his friendship, and hoped and believed that he had secured his concurrence. The vote of the Czech Przmislaf, called by Germans Ottocar, Duke of Bohemia, was promised in return for the promise of the title of King, to be upon this occasion hereditarily given. And now, thinking success to be assured, the Duke of

Swabia and Tuscany returned to Italy, to fetch the infant monarch for his acknowledgement and coronation.

Whilst his brother was thus labouring in his service, Henry was rendering his exertions abortive. His principal occupation in Italy was remedying what he deemed the weak lenity of the austere and not very lenient Constance. Truly, as the avenger, did he pass through Apulia. He dismantled Capua and Naples, in chastisement of their insurgent or rather anti-German inclinations, a chastisement that, exposing two of his wealthiest cities defenceless to rebel or invader, as well as to the arbitrary will of the monarch, seems more like the caprice or the temper of an angry tyrant, than the repressive measure of an able despot, such as Henry VI generally showed himself. But not unjustly, if too horribly, did he retaliate upon Acerra his treacherous murder of the loyal Andria. Acerra had hitherto, by concealment, avoided capture; but, when the Emperor revisited Italy, deeming it impossible longer to elude detection, he attempted to fly, and was betrayed into Diephold's hands. Henry ordered him to be fastened to a horse's tail, so dragged through the streets of Capua, and then hung by the feet, his head downwards, till life, if any remained, should be extinct.

The Emperor then passed over into Sicily, where dissensions again prevailed between him and the Empress; but to what height these dissensions rose, to what steps they led, are again points upon which old chroniclers differ, as do their followers, modern historians. Constance, though innately indisposed to political liberality, felt for her hereditary vassals and subjects, felt for her nephew Tancred's children; and moreover feared her consort's inordinate severity might so alienate the affections of the nation, as to endanger her son's succession. But whether these sentiments impelled her, as some writers assert, to concur in a conspiracy against him, even whether during his brief sojourn in Sicily any extensive conspiracy against him were really formed, is very doubtful; and according to some writers it was the plot previously mentioned, of the poor wretch punished with the red hot crown, that she sanctioned. That Henry was generally abhorred, is indeed certain; as also that some degree of

conspiracy, of actual revolt, occurred, and, as usual, cruelty, rather than severity, marked the punishment. In the process of quelling this revolt, the Emperor in person besieged the castle of Castro-Giovanni, the *Castellano* or lord of which he had declared a rebel.

The defence against so merciless a victor was resolute, and the siege therefore tedious. Henry cheered the dull hours of its continuance with the eager pleasures of the chase; and, as if forgetful of the deleterious effects of a southern climate upon German constitutions, of which he had had personal experience, pursued that amusement in the most sultry season, aggravating the evil by other acts of imprudence. One of the days allotted to this exciting sport, the 6th of August, 1197, proved unusually hot, even for August in Sicily. The Emperor not only would not be persuaded therefore to relinquish his favourite recreation, but when overheated sought refreshment in large draughts of cold water; and sleep, by establishing his bed, at night, in the open air. A violent illness was the natural consequence. He was removed to Messina, where, after lingering for some weeks, he died the 28th of September, or, according to some accounts, a few days later, at the early age of thirty-one.

Whether his death were simply the result of his own indiscretion, or of poison administered by Sicilian conspirators, impatient of his tyranny; and whether in the latter case, the Empress were or were not cognisant of the patriotic crime,[221] was disputed at the time, and is so still. When the Emperor's tomb was opened in the last century, nearly 600 years after his interment, and the body found in such perfect preservation that even the characteristic sternness of the countenance was plainly discernible, the question was thought to be decided in favour of the accused, and poison disproved;[222] whilst later scientific investigations would rather lead to inferring the presence of arsenic from such appearances. But, whether nature, resentment, or compassion removed him from a kingdom that he was driving to despair, of the universal explosion of joy produced by the news of his decease, there is no question; nor, it is to be feared, of the massacre of such Germans as fell in their way, by the

Sicilians on both sides of the straits, in that unchecked explosion.

That the Emperor lay under excommunication at his death, the most generally received opinion, is rendered the more likely from the difficulties that appear to have long obstructed his interment. The Empress, who had conjugally attended upon him during his illness, applied to the Pope for permission to bury him in consecrated ground, upon the plea that, upon his deathbed, he had repented of all his sins. But this indulgence Celestin refused, until all pecuniary differences with the King of England should be settled to his satisfaction. A negotiation ensued, and in the end Constance, as guardian of her son, is said to have taken upon herself to release Richard from all remaining debt; and Celestin thereupon, giving up the claim to repayment of what had been received, to have revoked the excommunication. Another account is, that Henry himself upon his deathbed despatched such a release to Richard. A third, more comprehensive, asserts that before his death he had purchased both the revocation of the sentence of excommunication, and the papal recognition of his son's hereditary right to Sicily, on both sides the Faro, as well as to Germany,—together with the regular consequence of such recognition, a papal promise to crown him Emperor when of fitting age—by formally renouncing the Imperial claim to the Matildan heritage.(223) But were either of these last statements correct, there could be no need of negotiation, or of the delay that appears to have occurred before Henry was pompously interred at Palermo. His early death and the infancy of his heir, necessarily put an end to his magnificent schemes, and threw the power once more into the hands of the German Princes and of the Pope.

CHAPTER V.

Political, Intellectual, and Social State of the Holy Roman Empire and Countries therewith connected, at the close of the Twelfth Century.

The death of Henry VI falls so near the end of the twelfth century, and many reasons, that will appear as the history proceeds, make the interruption of the narrative at the year 1200 so inconvenient, that a retrospective survey of the progress, political, intellectual, and social, which the last three quarters of that century had produced, may best find its place here,—a survey that need not now occupy the time which was indispensable to presenting the condition of the world, or of the Holy Roman Empire, at the commencement of the period.

The general position of the European states has been so apparent in the course of the narrative, that a very few words will suffice for this topic. In the western peninsula, Mussulman Spain, though much diminished, was united and powerful under the already mentioned Almohades;[224] whilst the Christian portion was split into five kingdoms—Castile, ruled by Alphonso VIII, Leon, by Alphonso IX, Navarre by Sancho VII, Aragon, including the county of Barcelona, by Pedro II, and Portugal, by Sancho I; all at war with each other and with the Almohades. France was gaining strength and importance under the politic Philip Augustus, although her western provinces were subject to the English crown, and most of her southern owed homage to the Emperor and the King of Aragon, as their respective suzerains. England, at the epoch of Henry VI's death, still gloried in her lion-hearted monarch, however burthened and oppressed by his ransom and his subsequent wars; and, although she lost him before the end of the century, John had not as yet had time to weaken or disgrace her. In Denmark, Canute VI had taken advantage of the Crusade, and Henry VI's Sicilian affairs, following upon Frederic Barbarossa's Italian wars, fully to emancipate himself from vassalage to the Emperor.

Scandinavia was still unfelt in European concerns, save as the heathenism still lingering there, and confirming a general refractoriness in regard to Church discipline, troubled the Popes. Russia, under her Grand-Prince, was gradually assuming the form of a more regular monarchy; whilst Poland grew daily weaker from division amongst brother Dukes. In Hungary, Bela III had conquered Bosnia and part of Bulgaria. At Constantinople the usurper Alexius III revelled and trembled; whilst Servia became independent. With the condition and position of the Syro-Frank states and of the most important of their Mussulman neighbours, the reader of the preceding narrative is already acquainted.

The progressive development of the reciprocal relations of the emperor, the princes of the Empire, the towns, German and Italian, and the pope, having been traced in the narrative, a few words will bring the actual state of those relations before the reader. The complication, through the intermixture of feudal relations, resulting from princes seeking to increase their private possessions, by taking fiefs in vassalage of their equals and even of their own vassals, was gaining ground. Not only had the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria held the stewardship of a Tyrolese cloister under his own Bavarian vassal, the Bishop of Brixen, but the Emperor held, personally, the office of *Truchsess* or Sewer to the Prince-Bishop of Bamberg, with the fiefs attached to it, and hereditarily in vassalage under the Prince-Archbishop of Maine, Selegenstadt, which he transmitted to his lineal successors. In France this was carried still further, Philip Augustus actually holding lands of his lay vassal, the Comte de Sancerre.

Still more had the hereditary principle, which all sought to establish for themselves, whilst refusing, to the utmost of their power, to admit it for either superiors or inferiors, gained ground, and, in proportion as it did, had the institutions of the Empire acquired stability. The emperors had established it in regard to the sub-vassals, in order to strengthen them against the oppression of their mesne lords, and thus secure in them an efficient support against the great vassals who aspired to independence. The great vassals had, practically, so well established the right in

regard to their own principalities, that they set little value upon Henry VI's offer to legalize it, if to be simultaneously recognised as legal in regard to the crown. Whilst usually willing to gratify a sovereign, against whom they were not in rebellion, by electing his heir, even the baby heir of an Emperor in the prime of manhood, as in the case of Henry VI, they desired to retain the power of giving or refusing the Empire. Nevertheless, it should seem that they would in the end have acceded to Henry's proposal of admitting this principle as the law of the Empire, but for the determined opposition of the spiritual princes, none of whom had anything to gain thereby, whilst the three predominant Archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne had much to lose. Regardless of all such considerations, the Pope imperatively commanded the whole body of the clergy to oppose an innovation, that would be fatal to the papal pretension of giving the Empire, and the inferred supremacy.

In Italy but few great vassals remained, and these, though Guelphs might be found amongst them, were, generally speaking, more disposed to support the habitually absent emperor, than the habitually present pope, or the cities. But of the few still fewer were influential. The Italian bishops had, with scarcely any exception, lost all feudal authority over their dioceses, or rather over the respective cities that gave name to, and really governed, each several diocese.

The progress of the cities has in like manner been apparent, as well the actual republican independence attained by most Lombard and Tuscan cities, as the growing importance of the German, marked by the partial admission of their representatives into the Diets.[225] The progress of the latter, if slow, was gradual, and as a whole nearly uninterrupted. The emperors, it has been seen, valued and favoured them, both as sources of prosperity and as their assured support against the troublesome great vassals. That some princes had likewise become sensible of the pecuniary benefit to be derived from wealthy cities, has been seen in the conduct of the Dukes of Zäringen, as in the chartered rights and privileges which the Earl of Holstein and Henry the Lion vied with each other, and with

Frederic Barbarossa, in showering upon Lubeck, according as each, in turn, was master of that seaport town. But none were more steadily diligent than the archbishops of Cologne in seeking to promote the trade and prosperity of their respective cities. And if some towns throve under the fostering care of great princes, others again were benefited by the very disgust their turbulent ambition excited in their mesne lords; many of whom, shrinking from the annoyance, forsook their urban fortresses, and retired to their country castles, leaving a burgrave or a steward to occupy the castle and rule the city as he best could; and with him it was of course easier to contend than with the still honoured Lord. Under these circumstances almost all large German towns, in Lower Lorrain even villages, had obtained some portion of self-government, often including the administration of civil, and sometimes of criminal justice; for those most highly favoured, even in capital cases, then the grand object of civic ambition. But all this authority was hitherto wholly confined to the city patricians, whom the landed nobility esteemed but little superior to the shopkeepers and artisans, whom they, on their part, as thoroughly disdained. The democratic element had in Germany hardly appeared, even in those provinces which ever took the lead in democracy as in industry, to wit, the Lotharingian. A revolt of the Flemish operatives against their masters had indeed occurred in 1164, but its motives are not clearly known, and it was quickly appeased through the reconciliation of the adverse parties, as mediated by Earl Theodore — known to German history as Graf Dietrich, and to French as Comte Thierry—the indefatigable Crusader, who in that character has been introduced to the reader. His son Philip was, like him, a great patron of his cities; but in very few, even of these, had an inferior class as yet attempted to intrude into municipal offices. The organization that afterwards afforded them the means of so doing, that of guilds, was however daily becoming more general.

The progress of the Italian cities, if less permanent, had been far more rapid. The moral action of a southern climate upon society would seem to be, if not similar, yet in some sort akin, to its physical action upon the animal

frame. If it "mar" the woman by making the school-girl " a happy mother," it also mars society by committing its guidance to the unbridled impetuosity of juvenile inconsiderate impulse, instead of to the calmly vigorous judgment of ripe—there perhaps it might be all the better were it over-ripe—manhood. The Italian cities, in lieu of seeking the redress of specific abuses and grievances, the grant, or recognition of specific rights, endeavoured at once to throw off all authority of the emperor, whilst most fully acknowledging his sovereignty, which they continued to own near a century longer.(226) In this seemingly anomalous attempt, however, after a hard and sanguinary struggle, they had succeeded. The Peace of Constance left them really vassal republics, that, in one way or another, exempted themselves from all the services and duties of vassalage, but were very loyal to the Emperor if he sought not to inforce his rights. One main source of heart-burning was done away with in the sale of the royalties, of which various Lombard cities, and especially Milan, had been wont so vehemently to complain: but which now, submitting to the sentence of the Doctors of law, they recognised as lawfully belonging to the Emperor, and purchased of him as they could best make their several bargains; generally for a fixed annual payment, but occasionally by a sort of barter. Thus Milan, for instance, seems to have obtained the right of electing her Podestà in return for the promise of men, money, and influence to assist the Emperor in retaining possession of the Matildan heritage—a happy exemplification, by the way, of the nature of the friendship between the Popes and the Lombard cities. It is somewhat curious that the Podestà, when thus elected by herself, as the municipal substitute for the Archbishop, —still ex officio Conte di Milano—thence entitled for his year Conte di Milano, and signing every sentence of death in the prelate's name, was still considered and treated by the Milanese as an Imperial Officer.

The election or nomination of this Podestà was now the chief, if not the only, bone of contention, betwixt the Emperor and the Lombard cities; and the position of this temporary despot was one of the strange peculiarities of

the age and country. He was, it will be remembered, necessarily an alien, that is to say, the native of another city or district, debarred from bringing with him wife, child, or any near relation, as likewise from marrying, or contracting any familiar acquaintance, in the town that he well-nigh arbitrarily governed. Even the possibility that the messenger, sent to invite the chosen Podestà to this despotism of a year, should thereby gain his good will, was guarded against by commonly employing a monk in that capacity.[227] In some places the Podestà was required to bring with him secretaries, or whatever instruments of government he preferred, judge and gaoler inclusive, paying them out of his own salary, and in this case they were all insulated like himself. In other towns he was expected to chuse his subordinates, from amongst his temporary subjects, and in many was obliged to content himself with those whom he found in office. The insulation was universal; other precautions against the Podestà's using his brief despotism disagreeably to his temporary subjects, varied in different places. Many towns required him to deposit a sum of money as security for his good behaviour, and to remain some certain time after the expiration of his year's reign, to await, either the preferring of private complaints against him, or the sanction of his government by one of the city Councils—which do not appear to have immediately gained any other increase of authority—ere he received back his own deposited money with his salary, or was permitted to return home. In other places the citizens contented themselves with the remedy of ill-treating a Podestà who rightfully or wrongfully, displeased them; and though the Ferrarese do not appear to have inflicted anything beyond a severe flogging upon their offending Podestà, the length to which this ill-treatment occasionally went has been seen in the loss of his teeth by a Podestà of Bologna. Yet, notwithstanding the certain annoyances and the contingent evils attached to the post, the greatest Italian noblemen were eager to fill it, the more prudent often demanding hostages for their safety. The salary was commonly high; besides which, a furnished palace with a well supplied cellar and kitchen, was provided for the use of this ephemeral monarch. Dependent towns, if allowed to

elect their Podestà, were obliged to chuse him from amongst the natives of the sovereign city; but in general the Podestà of that sovereign city named all the magistrates, this the highest included, of her dependent allies: thus, as an imperfect sort of mesne superior, assuming the right hardly conceded to the acknowledged Lord Paramount, the Emperor. Almost everywhere, it will be observed, had Podestàs by this time superseded Consuls, as Municipal Chiefs, the latter title being now mostly confined to heads of trades, and the like. Elections of all public officers were becoming more and more complicated; but as the nature of that complication has been seen in the election of the Grand-Master of the Knights Templars, and it attained to almost ideal perfection in its fulness of intricacy at Venice in the course of the next century, any further description may be reserved until the time for developing the Venetian form of election shall arrive.

Even in Italy, democracy, though now becoming turbulently impatient of a subordinate position, had not hitherto materially encroached, save in a few places, upon the privileges of the higher classes. The associations of the different trades, severally, as *Arti*, under their respective Consuls, were, however, daily becoming more general, and everywhere offered the democracy the means of inforcing its pretensions. At Florence, where from the moment the feudal yoke was broken the democratic principle prevailed, this organization had already established a very popular constitution; the whole government being in the hands of the Consuls of the five *Arti maggiori* or principal trades, conjointly with three Consuls of Justice and two of War, all elective. At Milan, associations amongst the lower classes, for military purposes, every trade having its own *Gonfalonè* or banner, under which to assemble for war or for revolt, were evidently tending the same way.

The contest between the Emperors and the Popes appeared in some respects to have changed its character, because the subjects in dispute were different, but shewed itself, when viewed under a larger aspect, unaltered in spirit. The aggression was still on the Papal side; the pontiffs, who now found the papacy emancipated from all dependence upon the Empire, striving to consummate the

triumph of their predecessors, by subjecting the Imperial crown to the Tiara: the monarchs now, as before, struggling to retain prerogatives, habitually enjoyed by *their* predecessors. This is allowed by many modern writers of the liberal school, at least by such as aspire to the epithet of unprejudiced.(228)

Gregory VII first disputed the Emperor's right of participation, at least, in the election of a Pope, and attempted to explain the oath taken by the Emperor at his coronation as implying temporal subjection. An analogous aggressive character marked the latter conduct of Adrian IV, and nearly the whole of Alexander III's, to Frederic I. The Emperors, on the contrary, appear to have gradually and reluctantly, but entirely, abandoned all idea of direct interference in papal elections. If Frederic supported anti-popes against the pontiff recognised by the Church as the legitimate successor of St. Peter, he neither took part in the double election that began the schism, nor did he even presume to chuse between the rival popes, objectionable to him as one of them must have been. He respectfully summoned a Church Council to decide which of the two was lawfully elected. In like manner was Celestin III the aggressor—through his adoption of his predecessor Clement III's measures—in his dissensions with Henry VI; inasmuch as Clement sanctioned, if he did not promote, Tancred's usurpation of the recognised birthright of the Empress Constance; although Henry's rapacity, cruelty, and sacrilegious injustice towards the Crusader Richard, ere long transferring the blame to him, has saved Celestin from censure. No pretension ever advanced, had the Popes abandoned. They still asserted that the empire was their free gift; because it was only after his coronation as emperor by the Pope, that the German monarch was entitled to call himself the Head of Christendom.(229) Towards the close of the twelfth century this pretension was so far suffered to slumber, that the aged Celestin did not advance it against the formidable Henry VI; but it was to guard against the slumber's becoming extinction, that he opposed and thwarted that Emperor's endeavours to render the crown hereditary. But the supposition that Celestin excommu-

nicated Henry in resentment of his having assumed an Imperial sovereignty over other monarchs, in bringing Richard before the Diet, rests upon a misunderstanding of the nature of the Papal claim, chronologically at least. These Popes wished the Emperor to be sovereign of kings, but subject to them. This view did not change much before the middle of the following century. In the twelfth it was the Crusader, as such under especial Church protection, not the independent king, that Henry sinned by imprisoning.

The original ground of dissension between the temporal and spiritual authorities, the Emperor's long-undisputed right to appoint prelates, seemed to be forgotten. No Emperor, not even the despotic Henry VI, attempted to interfere with episcopal election, save as authorized by the Calixtine *Concordat*, though he, and all of his race, resisted the papal interpretation of that treaty, to which, as the price of his crown, Lothar had submitted. Other monarchs, unbound by that treaty, admitted or rejected the papal pretensions according to the relative positions and tempers of pope and king. So, for instance, Henry I of England ended, temporarily at least, his long contests with Pascal II, Calixtus II, and his own Primate Anselmo, upon this subject, by a compromise not dissimilar to that Concordat. So William the Lion, King of Scotland, on the other hand, after an obstinate struggle with the obstinate Alexander III, carried his point, virtually, though not formally, under the feebler Lucius III. The King had appointed his Chaplain to the vacant archbishopric of St. Andrew's; the Chapter rejected his nominee, electing a different person; and Alexander supported the Chapter. William banished whoever should obey the Papal Bull; and Alexander, besides excommunicating him individually, laid the whole kingdom under an interdict. Lucius III put an end to the fierce quarrel, by claiming the nomination under such circumstances, and conferring the see, by his Papal authority, upon the royal Chaplain. Whilst in Sicily, the usurper Tancred was forced to pay for the Papal protection he enjoyed, by surrendering to Celestin III many of the privileges granted to his Norman ancestors, and very inconveniently enlarging the jurisdiction of

the Archbishop of Palermo, to which he was obliged, upon the plausible ground of marriage being a sacrament, to assign, exclusively, all questions relative to marriage. Again, as if to mark the ever-varying balance of power between the antagonist forces, in the year 1153, at Ulm, the first provincial Diet held in Swabia after the election of Frederic I decreed that excommunication should be wholly devoid of temporal action, save as corroborated or confirmed by an Imperial Diet.

This was the actual result of Gregory VII's schemes for Papal emancipation and Imperial subjugation; and he might, probably, have deemed it tolerably satisfactory. The same could hardly be said of the fruit of his exertions to reform the discipline of the Church. If his measures had very much freed the clergy from lay control, thus rendering the body a more useful instrument in the hands of the sovereign pontiff, they had by no means wrought the internal, moral amelioration, which he had unquestionably anticipated. The before-mentioned extraordinary relaxation in the discipline of Chapters,(230) drew the attention of Innocent II, and he commanded all, without exception, to conform to the Rule of St. Augustin, which injoined a claustral life. The majority, perforce, obeyed the papal mandate; but such monastic restraint—including common refectories and common dormitories—proved distasteful alike to men accustomed to full, even to licentious freedom, and to those who hoped to be their successors in their stalls. Hence, monks now began to insinuate themselves amongst the Canons of Cathedrals, and soon obtained actual possession of very many Chapters; when, if some of their early elections shewed this innovation in an advantageous light, they ere long appeared to be quite as open to corruption and influence as their more worldly predecessors. But a Chapter, thus virtually transformed into a monastery, derived such strength from its concentration of energy, as enabled it to resist, and frequently to overpower, the will of the Bishop. Such an inversion of their relative positions soon became intolerable to the prelates, many of whom willingly connived at their Chapter's disobedience to the papal orders, and continued enjoyment of their former easy life. Where this was the case, such objects of desire

for all younger branches of noble, and even of princely families, had canonries become, that, in the year 1145, the Chapter of Liege consisted, as before said, wholly of sons of kings, dukes, earls, and inferior nobles. So satisfactory was this arrangement felt, that Chapters of Canons unconnected with any Cathedral were presently founded and endowed, professedly as works of piety conducive to salvation, but really as asylums for the posterity of the founders; even Chapters for noble ladies were among the number. Of course such Chapters as that of Liege, chose the prelates they were called upon to elect from amongst themselves or their kindred, save when the Popes, who had appropriated to themselves most of the rights they had wrested from the Emperors, forced some client or favourite of their own upon them.

Nor was this change in the composition of Chapters the only cause of the relapse of the higher clergy into all the disorders that Gregory VII and Henry III had endeavoured, and for a while successfully, to correct. The same sort of antagonism necessarily existed betwixt a Pope who aspired to absolute authority, and the Prelacy which constituted the Aristocracy of the Church, as betwixt a lay Sovereign and his great vassals. Hence the Popes were constantly encroaching upon the rights, the duties, and the dignity of bishops and archbishops. They deprived them of all control over almost all cloisters, over many churches with their ecclesiastical establishments, of the privilege of granting ordinary dispensations, and the like. Thus, prelates, not selected for their apostolic virtues, finding little episcopal superintendence — their peculiar business — to occupy them, their remaining humbler ecclesiastical duties became distasteful to them. Feeling themselves robbed of their proper spiritual dignity and importance, they neglected the religious duties still incumbent upon them, to think only of wealth, temporal power, and sensual indulgence. It will be remembered that those who have been deemed worthy of a special introduction to the reader, have appeared in the character rather of statesmen and warriors than of churchmen. And this will continue to be the case. At the close of the twelfth century simony was more prevalent than ever, the

prelates selling everything, not only livings, canonries, and ordination, but illegal dispensations of all kinds, including a dispensation from the clerical vow of chastity. Such irregular dispensations had indeed always been considered as an abuse, although the practice of commuting the penances enjoined by the Church for any sin, for a money payment to some ecclesiastical fund, was early admitted as lawful. It may, perhaps, be esteemed a natural consequence of the legal establishment, in lay tribunals, of a fixed, pecuniary compensation for every possible personal injury. And it is to be noted that repentance, and renunciation of the sin for which the penance had been enjoined, were never so commuted.(231)

Gregory had been more successful in his endeavours to enforce celibacy upon the clergy, than in those directed against simony and clerical ignorance; yet not completely. The great body of ecclesiastics submitted to this law; but even in countries the most advanced in civilization, as France, England, and Germany, married priests were still to be found, were not only tolerated, but it should seem as much respected by their flocks as their bachelor compeers.(232) In England, Anselmo's successor in the see of Canterbury held a *mot* or synod, for the express purpose of compelling all English priests and archdeacons to part from their wives, but was himself compelled to renounce the attempt; and Henry I, who had but recently compromised his own quarrel with the Pope, gladly sanctioned wedlock amongst his clergy. Whilst in Scandinavia and in Slavonian districts, the rule of discipline relative to celibacy was openly or tacitly rejected. In Norway it was declared to be inadmissible; not only were the priests avowedly married men, but a priest's wife held, as such, an established, and highly respectable, position in society. In Poland and Bohemia, the rule seems to have been rather evaded, than thus openly defied; but in both countries married priests abounded until long after the period under consideration in these volumes.

Gregory's efforts to educate the clergy appear, in like manner, to have been but partially successful. The constantly recurring decrees of Church Councils to oblige the clergy to acquire, at least, the portion of knowledge

indispensable to the due performance of Church service, prove the frequent—should it not be said the general?—ignorance. Such a decree was enacted by the Council which Alexander III held in 1163.

As another unfortunately downward step in ecclesiastical discipline, it must be repeated that the dangers, threatening the kingdom of Jerusalem from the mighty Saladin, led to a measure which must ever rank amongst those most deleterious, in every conceivable way, to the Church of Rome. This was the sale of indulgences, unheard of until the year 1184, when it was authorized by Lucius III, in order to raise money towards a crusade. Thus, at the close of the twelfth century, church discipline could hardly be said to exist, even under able and conscientious Popes, who strove in vain to repel or to stem the accumulating flood of evil; whilst, with some few splendid exceptions, the great body of the clergy, from the highest to the lowest, were licentious, ignorant, pugnacious, and rapacious, almost to rivalry with the robber-knights.

The annoyances suffered by Cloisters, and even by Sees, from their Vogts or Stewards, now very generally holding the office hereditarily, have been seen in the course of the narrative, as also the remedy attempted, by transferring the stewardship, whenever feasible, to the crown.

Perhaps the most material political feature of the three quarters of a century now under review is the laying the foundation, if it may be so expressed, of that essential portion of modern society, a middle class. This foundation was laid in more than one direction. Trade was gaining importance in the eyes of monarchs and states, if not of the feudal nobility of Germany, France, and England—so much so, that regular commercial treaties were negotiated. One such has been mentioned between Frederic I and Henry II of England, who, independently of this treaty, by charter freely secured many privileges to German traders in his dominions. Another treaty was concluded between Philip Archbishop of Cologne and Philip Earl of Flanders, securing the free navigation of the Rhine to the Flemings; and another, between the King of Sicily and Genoa, by which the former bound himself to exclude Provençal ships from his ports in favour

of this virtually republican city, that had treaties o analogous character with the King of Aragon, the Moslem King of Valentia, and the Emperors of Constantinople and Morocco;—and one yet more remarkable with the city of Narbonne, which assured to the Narbonnese certain privileges at Genoa, upon condition of their limiting their intercourse with Syria to a single ship annually, that should carry pilgrims but not merchandize. All this, added to the riches, and the consequence inseparable from riches, everywhere acquired by merchants, especially in the powerful vassal states of Pisa and Genoa, did more than lead the way to a great change in their position. The merchants of Venice were hardly as yet merchant-princes:—but Venice was so really independent as to lessen her influence within the Empire, save as an evidence of mercantile wealth and consequence. In the south of France such progress had this change made, that the opulent traders of some towns, dwelling in their *turrified* and battlemented mansions, were held capable of knighthood. Thus was the character of a merchant so raised, that the chivalrous Frederic Barbarossa permitted the sword, of which former Emperors had granted travelling merchants the use, exclusively for self-defence, and attached to the saddle, to be thenceforth worn like a knight's.(233) And yet more; in a question referred to him, he decided that the nobles of Asti might engage in traffic without derogating from their nobility.

Another, and more intrinsic, element of respectability was supplied to the nascent middle class, in the impulse which the invasion of Imperial rights and prerogatives by the Popes and by the Lombard cities gave to the study of the law. The Bolognese Professors of the Civil, or old Roman law, by their sentence, not only confirmed, as has been seen, Frederic's right to all the royalties he claimed, but assigned him yet greater prerogatives: inasmuch as the Roman Emperors, from whose decisions the civil law emanated, were far more despotic than any feudal sovereign. Jurists, henceforth, naturally became frequent counsellors of the monarch. The Italian cities, nevertheless, vaguely knowing that Rome had been a republic, and that from the Roman republic they derived their municipal organization, still hoped to find in the civil law a sanction to

their pretensions; and as eagerly consulted, as highly valued jurists, as did the Emperors. The Popes could not, indeed, look with kindly eye upon a code necessarily inimical to their pretensions, concocted, as it was, when those pretensions were unthought of, and as necessarily favourable to the only power, the Imperial, of which they entertained any apprehension. But, far from attempting to impugn or depreciate it, they merely defended themselves with a rival code; and Alexander III expressly pronounced the Civil law supreme, save when contrary to the Canon law. This Canon law consisted of Papal instead of Imperial decisions, of edicts promulgated, and of sentences pronounced, upon appeals of princes and prelates, by preceding Popes; first collected about the middle of the twelfth century, by a Benedictine monk named Gratian. His compilation bore the title of DECRETALI, and was sanctioned by Alexander III, although it comprises, amidst authentic decrees of various kinds, many very little entitled to that character, as, *e. g.*, those bearing the name of Isidro, and since designated as the False Decretals.(234) Of course the Professors of Canon law, *i. e.*, the High-School or College expounders and teachers of these Decretals, ranked as high in the favour of the Popes, as did the Professors of Civil law in that of monarchs and cities. And in what class of society arose these various Doctors of Law, to whose decision the interests of nations were submitted, who gradually introduced themselves into the cabinet and council of sovereigns? The nobility still held learning of all descriptions, except the *gai Saber* (poetry), derogatory to their knighthood. The monks, who were long the chief lawyers as well as the chief medical practitioners amongst Christians, but had, as before stated, been forbidden, upon grounds that were a sheer substitution of the sound of words for their sense, to exercise the surgical department of leechcraft, had latterly been equally debarred from their other non-clerical occupation. In the Council of A.D. 1163, Alexander III had prohibited the practice of law or physic by monks; more reasonably, because by such occupations they were diverted from their own especial duties; and employed their skill, not in Christian charity, but as means of escaping from their monasteries.(235) Legal science, thus driven from the cloister, was indeed

still in the hands of clerks, that is to say of men educated for the Church and in Holy Orders; but, as ambition awoke in the non-noble amongst the laity, the study of the law presented itself as the means of gratifying that ambition: and thus, in course of time, under the form of jurists or lawyers, arose one really respectable and cultivated middle order of society. Not yet, however, had laymen been deemed fit for the profession.

Another class, now beginning to acquire consistency and weight, was that of mercenary soldiers, who, making a trade of war, were ready to fight in any cause whatsoever, for aggressor or aggrieved, for whoever was able and willing adequately to reward their services. Such heartless, professional shedders of human blood, at first little better than half-legalized banditti, then, in progressive civilization, assuming a less brutal, though still odious character, as the trained and disciplined bands of noted *Condottieri*,[236] form perhaps the natural transition-state through which the military force provided by feudal service must needs pass, to become the regular national standing-army of later times. The demand and the supply were simultaneously increasing. The Norman Kings of England, during the last half of the century, habitually employed these *Brabançons*, *Ruptuarii*, or *Coterels*, as they were variously styled, in their French wars, where English feudal service was of little avail; whilst the double fealty of many of their French vassals, as well as the undoubted suzerainty of the King of France over all, and their own foreign character as Kings of England,[237] might considerably embarrass their operations. Henry II is said to have composed the bulk of his armies of these adventurers. In like manner the Emperors Frederic I and Henry VI found it impossible efficiently to wage war in Italy, with mere feudal service. Archbishop Christian's army has been seen to consist almost entirely of Brabançons, and prior to that prelate's appearance in the field, Frederic himself is said to have discovered the necessity of employing them.[238] The smallness of the Pope's dominions rendered it impossible they should supply him with troops; whilst, in Lombardy, the rich, the elderly, and even the middle-aged citizens of towns, soon discovered that it was more convenient to hire others to fight for them, than to be always neglecting their own affairs

in order either to resist the imperial authority, or to gratify their hatred of a neighbour; also, perhaps, that it was safer for themselves, than to make good warriors of their rustic villeins and their urban operatives. Of these bands the subaltern officers must, in part at least, have been non-noble. As yet, however, this change likewise was only beginning. The great vassals still attended the Emperor feudally; in Lombard towns the citizen was still disgraced, who, when war was declared, did not pass through the city gate in arms, ere a candle placed on it burnt out; and his martial labours, against neighbours at least, were light, as long as coining money, or riding at the ring under the walls of the hostile city, was the sufficiently glorious termination of a campaign. As a necessary part of the change, the custom of purchasing exemption from service, by vassals who found even their six weeks upon a distant expedition onerous, became more and more general; and, in England, Thomas à Becket regularized such a commutation under the name of scutage.(239)

The rise of a purely belligerent class of men, as a sort of connecting link between the warlike nobles and the nascent middle class, prodigiously raising the latter in mediæval estimation, was probably fostered by the concomitant changes in Chivalry; which about this time was becoming, not a profession certainly, but a distinct, self-dependent institution. Stimulated by the crusades, by the example of the military monastic Orders, Chivalry had become so intimately connected with religion, as to be no longer conceived capable of separation from the Church. St. Bernard had pronounced, that only a Christian could be a knight, and Richard was apparently blamed for knighting a Moslem. Thus, self-existent Chivalry appears to have very nearly reached its real zenith about the close of the twelfth century. In this, its palmy state, when all knights were equal amongst themselves, the poorest of them looked down upon the mightiest earl, if unknighted, whilst a sultan was deemed undeserving of so high an honour. The self-willed Lion-heart indeed broke through the rule; perhaps thinking the case analogous to a sovereign's knighting a low-born, but highly deserving warrior upon the battle-field: a knighthood which, as has been said,

gave, after all, but an imperfect equality. In Italy, the Podestàs and city nobles conferred knighthood without regard to birth; and it has been seen that, upon such an emergency as the siege of Jerusalem in its defenceless condition, Sir Balian of Ibelin took upon himself to knight the sons of citizens. None of these were perhaps held to be perfect knights; certainly not to be equals of those more regularly created, with the religious rites and ceremonies, never properly dispensed with, except upon the field of battle. But these rites and ceremonies, with the concomitant pompous celebration, had by this time become so oppressively expensive, that unwarlike or economical nobles often shrank from the costly honour; and this to so hurtful a degree, that in the year 1200, Baldwin Earl of Flanders and Hainault published a law for his own dominions, degrading to the condition of peasants all sons of knights who at the age of twenty-five should be still unknighted. But, if it was found necessary thus to spur some of those who should have been eager candidates for admission into this proud fraternity, that its dignity was not therefore the less valued may be inferred from the adoption of the same title, *Sire*, our English Sir,(240) for addressing a king and a knight; and it seems natural, that this select, if numerous, body of vowed redressors of wrongs and protectors of the weak, should have chosen to feel themselves so far unbound by feudal ties, as to be at liberty to offer their swords at their pleasure to a sovereign to crush rebellion or repulse invasion, or to a city to defend it from oppression by a tyrant.

Such *was* assuredly the pleasure of the military Orders of the Temple and the Hospital, still flourishing, though with respect to their pure ideal, somewhat past *their* zenith. They were still the first of warriors, and powerful even through the opulence that had tarnished their original simple virtues. Their Serving-Brothers and Turcopoles formed an actual army. The rules of frugality, or abstinence rather, in dress, life, &c., were now habitually violated. No longer confining their hostilities solely to misbelievers, they took part in every quarrel of Christian princes: and the two Orders almost always embracing opposite sides, were constantly at war with

each other, when not temporarily united against some such formidable foe to the kingdom of Jerusalem, as Noureddin or Saladin. Against such an enemy they were still its best bulwarks; and, when unswayed by individual, or by Order jealousies or interests, the two Grand-Masters appear to have been the trustiest, as the ablest counsellors of the monarch and of the crusaders. The Knights Hospitalers are accused of having, in the course of this century, wholly discarded the distinguishing character of their institution, its blending their original feminine office of tending the sick, with that purely masculine, of the ever active warrior; transferring the humbler duties to an inferior class of brothers of their Order, exclusively dedicated to them.

The high reputation and wealth of these Orders naturally produced imitation. The rise of the Marian or Teutonic Knights has been described, and was the most permanent consequence of the siege of Acre. Another of those which appeared in Palestine deserves especial notice: this was the Order of St. Lazarus, founded at Jerusalem by rational and truly Christian charity for the exclusive service of lepers; but of which it was whimsically ordained that the Grand-Master must himself be a leper. The Lazarites are said to have been, like the Hospitalers, knights as well as nurses, and highly favoured by the Kings of Jerusalem; but being confined to Palestine, to have perished with the Christian kingdom. That no chronicle records the military exploits of the Lazarites, would seem to prove this double character, of service in arms as well as beside the sick-bed, the mere embroidery of excited mediæval imagination upon a regular Lazarite establishment, known only by its care of those outcasts of humanity, lepers. Yet the silence of chroniclers upon the subject might, if the malady of the Grand-Master were actually indispensable, be thereby explained. When the degree to which lepers, whether through disgust or fear of infection, were excluded and secluded from all intercourse with their fellow-creatures—they might not cross a road to pick up alms dropped for them, till the giver should have reached a prescribed distance—it becomes self-evident that a leper could not appear in an army as one of its generals. The

Lazarites could not therefore be arrayed under their own Superior, and would probably fight in the ranks of the Knights Hospitalers, with whom they, like the Marians, might easily be confounded, by Europeans. In the Spanish Peninsula, where, as in Syria, war with the Mohammedans was the very condition of existence, several orders of chivalry, mostly modelled upon that of the Knights Templars, arose. Of these the greater number early died away; but the Orders of St. Jago, Alcantara and Calatrava, in Spain, with that of Avis, in Portugal, survived to do good service against the misbelievers. Ere long, however, they divested themselves of the monastic character of their prototypes, the Templars and Hospitalers, transforming the vow of celibacy into one of nuptial fidelity.

If new classes of society were in course of formation, one of the most valuable of the original German classes seemed fast approaching its extinction; namely, that of non-noble freeholders. In a few favoured situations, indeed, as the Swiss and Tyrolese mountains, and some of the districts dismembered from the erst too powerful duchy of Saxony, as the marshes of East Frieseland and Ditmarsen, they still existed, almost as of yore. Elsewhere, the sturdy preference of independence, to the protection and the strength derivable from vassalage, was rapidly disappearing, as might be inferred from the acceptance of a fief by the seemingly sturdy free Lord of Keukingen; (241) and these freeholders were now very generally either absorbed into the lowest class of noble vassals, or pressed down to form the highest class of the imperfectly free, or even the unfree. The number of the lowest class of the unfree, the *eigenleute*, answering to the English villeins in gros or regardant, was daily diminishing by the mere fact of the prosperity of the towns. All articles of dress, furniture, and the like, were to be procured in them at a less cost than the permanent maintenance of the mechanic thralls and their families, besides being of better quality than what was manufactured at home, by less practised workmen. Hence a change in the condition, if not the manumission, of numbers of these *eigenleute*.

The Jews had in the course of the century pretty nearly recovered their *pre-crusade* condition. They were now, as then, alternately tolerated and persecuted, according to the degree in which bigotry, rapacity, good sense, right feeling, or need of pecuniary assistance, prevailed amongst monarchs and their vassals. By Conrad III, Frederic I, and Henry VI, they were steadily protected. In France, where they had been allowed to hold landed property, Philip Augustus—who neglected no means of supplying his exchequer—seized that property and united it to his private domains; whilst at Beziers, where the Bishop on Palm Sunday regularly exhorted his flock to avenge their Saviour, they, in the year 1160, purchased at a high price exemption from being annually driven out of the town with stones during Passion week. In England it has been seen that the royal authority, if unable to protect them from horrible persecutions, duly punished their persecutors, at least under Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Some degree of stability their condition probably derived from the progressive changes in the forms, almost in the spirit of feudal government. The sale of royalties and of exemption from military service seldom proving sufficient to defray the cost of hired troops, the need of a regular system of taxation was felt. The idea of such a system had been caught in the East, where the Crusaders had seen it established in Palestine, and developed amongst the Saracens, even to the extent of making the vices of mankind contribute to the expenses of government; as, *e.g.*, the virtuous Noureddin levied a tax upon the courtesans of Damascus, by obliging them to take out a sort licence to trade in their own infamy. In those days, need of financiers was, in Europe at least, really need of Jews; who, already the creditors of princes, prelates, and nobles, gradually drew the whole management of the finances of many countries into their own hands; and thus, being considered as a necessary evil, were, as such, officially protected, and in Germany called the Emperor's Exchequer servants (*Kammerknechte*). Even the powerful Archbishop, Philip of Cologne, had been heavily fined for oppressing these Exchequer servants of the Emperor, which

was one cause of his ill-will towards Frederic I and Henry VI.

In the twelfth century, the very idea of a financial system was, however, still in its infancy; and as the topic did not interest the old chroniclers, they afford little information concerning it, beyond the occasional mention of a detached fact, as of a duty being laid upon the exportation or importation of some article, in some town or state. In Italy, more progress had, during the last half of the century, been made towards the development of this new science, than in other parts of Europe. Venice is known to have then had a property tax, custom-duties upon imports and exports, taxes upon consumption, and a public debt: for the principal of which, she, in 1172, declared that her creditors must wait, till she could conveniently reimburse them, but for which she would in the mean time pay them interest at the rate of five per cent.:—the ordinary rate of interest being somewhere between twenty and sixty per cent., one would fain hope she said quarterly, instead of annually, to creditors whom confidence in her honesty had thrown into her power. It is also known, that, at Sienna, all property was about the same time officially valued, in order to be proportionately taxed; and that the Lombard cities taxed their clergy for the expense of their civil war against the Emperor:—Alexander III, in his need of the League's friendship, shutting his eyes to a course which it was the Popes' custom to denounce as most sacrilegious. The sale of the right of coinage, amongst other royalties, to cities, seems to have prodigiously extended that right; thus, in the last quarter of the century, producing an inundation of bad coin of all descriptions, which the Emperor, though aided by many cities, found it impossible to check or to remedy.

The business of legislation continued, throughout the century, to be what it had previously been; *i. e.*, the repression of private feuds, by transferring the decision of disputes from the battle-field to a court of justice; and where that proved impossible, the diminution of the evils such intestine warfare entailed, by an increasing strictness of regulation. Thus, Frederic forbade the destruction of vineyards and orchards in the prosecution of private feuds,

and denounced the ban of the Empire against incendiarism upon such occasions. This Emperor's constantly recurring proclamations of *à Landfriede*, or period of peace within the realm, shew both how earnestly he was bent upon accomplishing this object, and how difficult he found success. A similar motive appears to have dictated his prohibition of confederation amongst themselves to the chartered German cities, whose martial propensities might, he probably feared, be aroused by sympathy with the members of the Lombard League. Nevertheless, even the Italian cities, fond as they were of war amongst themselves, appear to have frankly co-operated with the Emperor, in his endeavours to regulate private feuds that could not be prevented; in proof of which a course of proceeding, prescribed by Lombard law to aggrieved parties, may be here cited. Some citizens of Modena, having been plundered by a party of Bolognese, were directed to apply for redress, in the first instance, to the Magistrates of Bologna. If they, as was their duty, granted it, the affair was well ended; but if they, as was to be expected, refused to condemn or fine their own townsmen, the next application was to be to the Modenese Magistracy; who, in the discharge of theirs, authorized the plundered individuals to wage war upon any or all Bolognese, until their booty should be sufficient to indemnify them for their losses, but not a moment longer. Still, the character of the punishments which it was desired to substitute for this self-redress, was more than sanguinary, was savage; but occasionally relieved by a species of good nature, at times incredibly absurd. As, for instance, the Danish law of this epoch required a considerable length of time to intervene betwixt the passing of sentence of death upon a convicted criminal and its execution, in order to afford the doomed man a chance—the reader probably supposes of making his peace with Heaven? by no means—of breaking prison and effecting his escape.(242)

A spirit of legislative improvement was, however, stealing into existence, which, though more developed in the following century, was already apparent. Frederic has been seen to sacrifice objectionable prerogatives. Richard Cœur-de-Lion did the same; by a charter given under his

own hand whilst in Sicily, he renounced for himself and his successors the odious right of wrecking, or taking the property found in wrecks; except in cases where, not only no living creature remained on board, but no natural heirs of the dead could be found. He likewise, in many places, resigned his right of disposing of single women in marriage. Other princes took a different step in the same direction, endeavouring to make themselves and their subjects acquainted with the laws by which they were to regulate their conduct. Baldwin Earl of Flanders and Hainault commissioned learned clerks to collect and compile the laws of his two counties;[243] in England, Glanvil published his *Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus Angliæ*, A.D. 1181; and in Poland, Casimir, the able younger brother of the idly ambitious Boleslas IV, held in 1180 the first legislative diet ever known there, summoning the clergy to attend, that they might assist in concocting laws. Iceland, a sort of aristocratic republic, had a regular code of laws early in the century; and, before its close, the Italian cities, upon the conclusion of the Peace of Constance, began to make and arrange laws, by which to govern themselves.

International law was a later production, and could as yet scarcely be said to exist, even in imagination. Nevertheless, its conception, if not its birth, was approaching, as the result, partly, of the intercourse induced between the princes and subjects of different countries by the crusades, and partly of the progress of civilization. Popes were beginning to denounce spiritual penalties against pirates and wreckers, as common enemies; and kings granted what would now be called letters of marque against the former. But the navigation laws, which should properly be international, appear to be merely the rules and customs of different states for the government of their own merchants and sailors, and although many writers ascribe the celebrated code, known as the laws of Oleron, to Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and consequently to the close of the twelfth century, in which he died, the better opinion seems to be that, not only has he no claim to this honour, but that no international maritime code existed until a later period.[244]

Letters had made wondrous progress during the

century, a progress mainly owing to the now general cultivation of the previously disdained vulgar tongues of Europe. Latin was indeed still the language of science of every description, of the law, and of the Church; that is to say not only the language in which divine service was performed, but in which the pope held intercourse with clergy and laity, throughout Christendom. Yet more; it was still the most approved language of history and poetry: but there were now almost everywhere, if not yet prose chroniclers, many rhymers—though few indeed who could aspire to the title of poet—who wrote lays in their respective mother tongues, in those in which the daily business of life was transacted, which all understood, in which the Latinists themselves probably thought.

In all this cultivation of modern languages and literature, the *Troubadours* of the *Langue d'oc* have been generally supposed to have taken the lead, although it has been shown that their precedency is disputed, and (245) by none more keenly than by their northern compatriots the *Trouveurs* of the *Langue d'oil*. The discussion, though a marked feature of the times, belongs not to their general history, but it may be observed that the assumption possibly originated in the extensive prevalence of this elder, if not eldest born of Latin, which was understood and, it would seem, habitually spoken, in the northern districts of Spain and Italy; and, in its poetic form, was carried yet further by accidental circumstances. Some of the chief princes of the native land of the *Langue d'oc* were vassals of the Empire: whence it might be one of the languages in use at the Imperial court, when Frederic Barbarossa, in emulation of his Provençal vassal visitors, selected it for his attempt in verse. Early in the century, Adelaide, daughter of a Marquess of Montferrat, marrying Roger Earl of Sicily, carried troubadours, with their language and spirit, to Palermo, in her train. A little later the heiress of Aquitaine, Elinor, grandchild and representative of him who passes for the first Troubadour, hereditarily a patroness of "his tuneful brethren," and herself it is said at least a dabbler in their art,(246) carried her own poetic court and tastes with her to the court of France, first; and, upon her divorce and second mar-

riage, to that of England, in both of which the Troubadour seems to have associated and coexisted with the Trouveur of Normandy and northern France. To enumerate the Troubadours who delighted the twelfth century, belongs to the historian of poetry, or to the poetic antiquary; but a few words relative to their literary, intellectual, and social position, are requisite to illustrate the character and progress of their age.

And here two points especially command attention; the one, the high station of a great number of the troubadours, the other, the peculiar character of their poems. It will be recollected that the troubadour just referred to, as long enjoying the fame of having first committed his vernacular poetic effusions to writing, was a Duke of Aquitaine and Earl of Poitou; a Duke of a very different class from a Duke of Choiseul or Lauzun of later times, being less a subject than a vassal-sovereign of something like a fifth or sixth of France. In this same century are found, in the ranks of his emulators, his grand-daughter Queen Elinor and her son Richard I, Alphonso II King Aragon, who, as the son of Queen Petronilla by Raymond Earl of Barcelona, first permanently united Catalonia—where the language was nearly identical with Provençal—to Aragon; his son Pedro, who however belongs more to the next century, and the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, whose verses strongly mark that the *Gai Saber* of the troubadour was then esteemed a right kingly accomplishment. But the Emperor's value for this Art is perhaps as much proved by his constituting Orange in the Arelat, a principality for the Troubadour Bertrand de Baux—the first Prince of Orange, and so really founder of that great house—as by his own production. Of enthroned votaries of the Muse there are, necessarily few; but, in looking through the list of names of princes, and of princely nobles preserved by the historians of Troubadours, it is matter of no little surprise to see the number of the rude and ever-warring feudal lords of those ages who figure there; for a while, at least, those of humbler condition really are the exception. Not less striking, perhaps, in proof of the lofty position assigned to the Art, than the exalted station of these high-born professors of the *Gai Saber*,

is the political use it served that most pugnacious of the class, Bertrand de Born, Seigneur de Hautefort in Poitou. His passionate *Sirventes* were the instrument of the crime, for which Dante places his head, lantern-like, in his hand: the crime, not of robbing his brother of their joint patrimony, but of so killing the filial sense in *il Ré Giovanni*,(247) the son of Henry II and of Elinor, the poet's own liege lady, as, severing son from father, to make him a parricidal rebel. De Born's object in thus misleading his royal friend appears to have been to rid himself and France of his English suzerains, by their destroying each other. His success ended in Henry II taking his rebel vassal prisoner. Whether it is to be considered evidence of the Troubadour's really poetic powers, or only of the King's parental feelings, that a lay declaring he, Bertrand, had been crazed by the death of Henry the Younger, procured him the restoration of his forfeited estate, may be a question.

The strain of the troubadours was almost exclusively lyric; the character usually erotic, and far too often licentious. When not inspired by Venus or Bacchus, the lay was either martial or satiric, though the penalty occasionally incurred by the satirist was calculated to deter from that style. It is recorded that a troubadour knight, Luc de Barré, who had lampooned Henry I, of England, being taken in battle, that monarch, in a mood little accordant with his surname of Beauclerc, ordered his eyes to be put out; and so savagely was the mandate obeyed that the lampooner died of the operation. The effusions of the earliest troubadours, who wrote from genuine impulse, are generally allowed to be the best, as the simplest, the truest to nature, the most impassioned of this class of poetry.(248) When it became a fashion to write, and to write love songs, because a poet *must* be in love, and that most properly with a lady who ought to be unattainable, verses were produced, rather fantastical than imaginative, rather gallant than passionate; difficulties of rhyme and metre were devised as substitutes for the deep spirit of poesy, and for genuine sensibility. Can true feeling be looked for in the outpourings of such factitious passion as that of the noble troubadour, Geoffroi Rudel Vicomte de

Blaye, who, in the south of France, wanting an object of his poetic flame, fixed his affections upon the reported beauty of the Tripolitan princess who had lost an Imperial crown through sea-sickness? He sang her charms and his own adoration of them, till throughout Europe his amorous sighs resounded. He then embarked for Tripoli to look upon the hitherto unknown, unseen, idol of his fancy. But, upon his voyage he was seized with a malady, which, even if originating in sympathy with the worshipped Melusina, incapacitated him for landing when he reached the goal. Countess Melusina, touched by the tuneful sighs that had spread her fame so widely, hastened on board to reward and cheer him with a sight of the beauty he had celebrated, and with a soft smile. But even her smile proved inefficient to revive the exhausted lover, and he expired during the interview. The adventure was one to touch woman's heart, and the lady is said to have immediately taken the veil. Ere leaving this part of the subject, Petrarch's praises of his "*Famoso Arnaldo*" seem to claim the specific mention of Arnauld de Marveil, as one of the most admired troubadours of this century.

It has been supposed that no narrative poem was written by any troubadour, and reasons for the fact were found. Was it not natural that poetic princes and knights should pour forth their emotions in song, without bestowing upon their art the time, labour, and study required by the rudest attempt at the epos? But a principal German poet of the next century, Wolfram von Eschenbach, expressly says that he translated or imitated his PARCIFAL from the poem of a Provençal troubadour, Guyot or Kyot, of whom nothing more is known. Besides which, Sharon Turner asserts that three narrative poems, written in the *Langue d'oc* during this century, still exist, and respectively celebrate the cycles of Arthur and of Charlemagne, and a war waged between Charles Martel and Gerard de Roussillon.(248) It has also been supposed that troubadour genius was wholly undramatic; but more accurate research has shown this to be a similar mistake. More of this presently. Another point to be remarked is that, of Latin chroniclers and versifiers in the south of France, little or no mention now occurs.

It should be added that the train of high-born troubadours regularly comprised musical attendants, who sang the compositions of their Lords. These indispensable auxiliaries were called *ministeriales*, to distinguish them from menial attendants; and thence comes our "Minstrel." So established was this custom, that before the end of the century the singing of other men's compositions appears to have become a sort of profession, in which jugglery or sleight of hand was blended with music and recitation. Geoffroi Gaimar, an Anglo-Norman, in his history of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, published early in the century, represents the minstrel Taillefer as performing jugglers' tricks;(249) of course painting the manners of his own times, if not of Taillefer's. Inferior troubadours sang their lays themselves as they wandered from court to court, from castle to castle, meting out fame or ignominy to their hosts, in proportion to the liberality or parsimony of their own treatment. Indeed it is a fact which must, however reluctantly, be confessed, that all troubadours reprobate economy, as the most detestable of vices, eulogizing extravagance as one of the chief virtues.(250)

In the catalogue of the authors who wrote in the language of the northern provinces, the *Langue d'oil*, no royal or princely, and not many noble *Trouveurs* or *Trouvères* are found. Even Richard Cœur-de-Lion, to whom the vernacular of Normandy and of Aquitaine must have been equally familiar, confined his poetic attempts to the strain of the troubadour. The Scandinavians had brought their professional Scalds with them; their new neighbours, the Armoricans of Britany, had, like the Welsh, their distinct caste of Bards; the business of whose lives, as of the Scalds', was weaving the poetic record of the glories of their ancestors; and these Normans—who naturally marrying French wives, speedily forgot the old Norse, unintelligible to their families—appear, as before intimated, to have breathed their own spirit into all around them; even into their French neighbours. They breathed it even into those who still disdained to write in any language but Latin. The first of these trouveurs, whose narrative poems have survived was Wace, Gace, or Eustace, as the name is variously given, a native of Jersey,

who, about the middle of the century translated into French verse the Latin history which Geoffrey of Monmouth, at the desire of Robert Earl of Gloucester, the Mæcenas of the age, had written some quarter of a century earlier, thus to embody and, by translating, preserve both the traditions and the volume, brought by Walter Calenius, a learned archdeacon of Oxford, from Armorica; where he had zealously and diligently collected the whole.(250) Besides this translated chronicle, called in its new form LE BRUT, and the ROMAN DU ROU, the tale of Rollo or Hrolf, the first Scandinavian Duke of Normandy, Wace wrote romances to the number of eight. A contemporary rival, Maistre Benoit, in addition to a rhymed chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, written at the desire of Henry II,(251) produced a Trojan War, professedly taken from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. Rhymed chronicles, and rhymed romances of Arthur and his Round Table, of Charlemagne and his Paladins, followed: and such was the passion for what was called poetry that Justinian's Institutes, and *Les Coustumes de Normandie*, were, it is positively asserted, versified.(252)

But as the lyrics of the troubadours did not absolutely exclude narrative poetry, so the more epic genius of the north was not intolerant of lyrics. The lost love lays of Abelard appear to have preceded the rhymed chronicles; and the hymns of St. Bernard were at least contemporary with them; those hymns, together with his sermons, still existing in MS., are held to have much contributed to the formation and development of the French language. The moral tone of the trouveurs is held to be superior to that of the troubadours, though still far from unobjectionable; the love upon which the interest turns being often such as it is criminal to indulge, and the language, to modern ears, offensively coarse. Later in the century, prose romances began to be written by trouveurs, whose powers of versification did not keep pace with their inventive faculties.(253) To these were added the short stories or anecdotes, real or fictitious, almost invariably as well gross as licentious, bearing the title of *Fabliaux*. It is not a little remarkable that these Fabliaux are found, well-nigh iden-

tical, in French, German, Latin, and Greek stories, and in the East, whilst the kind is unknown to Scandinavian and to Welsh literature.(254)

French history in French is as yet not found; but the idea of it is. We are told that Baldwin Earl of Flanders and Hainault—already mentioned as a collector of laws—ordered Latin histories to be collected, abridged, and the abridgment translated. The result of the command is unknown, very probably its execution interrupted by the Earl's departure upon his crusade.(255)

But, amidst this torrent of French, authors of higher pretensions still wrote Latin, not only historians but poets. Gaultier de Chatillon produced a Latin ALEXANDREID, or Life of Alexander the Great in the disguise of a noble knight of the twelfth century; rivalled by Guilleaume le Breton's epic upon the exploits of Philip Augustus; which, however, must be considered as more properly belonging to the thirteenth century, the protagonista's life being prolonged far into that century, and his most successful operations belonging to his later years.

In England, Norman-French was as yet so exclusively the language of the higher orders, and Elinor and Richard I had so surrounded themselves with troubadours, that the state of letters in this country has been half depicted in speaking of their condition in France. Wace wrote wholly for the English court, and native Englishmen emulated him in his own language; into which Anglo-Normans translated whatever they deemed interesting in Anglo-Saxon. King Horn is supposed to have been so translated about the middle of the century.(256) A life of Thomas à Becket, in French stanzas of five ten-syllable lines, is ascribed to one Guernes de Pont St. Maxence, and the close of this century. Anglo-Saxon, was not, however, altogether neglected. According to Marie de France, an Anglo-Norman poetess of the next century, Henry I translated Æsop's fables from Latin into English or Anglo-Saxon, from which she, a century later, re-translated them into French verse.(257) From an early period of the century Anglo-Saxon (which up to that time had continued pure) declined,(258) remaining in what

may be called a progressive transition state towards English; and it was really into English verse that the Lives of the Saints were translated late enough in the century for Thomas à Becket, already canonized, to take his place amongst them, and that before its close Layamon made the BRUT of Wace accessible to his non-Norman countrymen. But Latin composition still flourished in England—as might be expected when Cicero and Quintilian were studied in the London schools—beyond French or English literature. It was especially patronized by Henry I, who was the personal friend of the Latin historian, William of Malmesbury; who conversed with every man of letters, however mean or poor, and suffered no press of business to prevent him from reading for some hours every day. Thus, under him and his successors within the century, —besides William of Malmesbury, and many of inferior reputation—Henry of Huntingdon, Roger de Hoveden, Gyraldus Cambrensis, and John of Salisbury, who in purity of classical diction is held to have far surpassed all contemporaries, wrote history or chronicles in Latin. Geoffroi de Vinisauf, an Anglo-Norman, whilst he sang love and war, in the *Langue d'oc* with his master Richard I, chronicled that master's crusading exploits—in which he shared—in Latin, and in the same language composed a metrical Art of Poetry. Joseph of Exeter emulated Maistre Benoit in an Epic upon the Trojan War, but written in Latin; whilst the English satirist, Walter Mapes, in his DE NUGIS CURIALIUM, laughed at scholastic subtleties and Aristotle.

In Germany, as in France, the South produced lyric, the North narrative, vernacular poetry: but both arose so much later in the century than the first strains of the troubadours and trouveurs, that the Teutonic poets must needs have been much influenced by their more advanced contemporaries. The generally received opinion is that Frederic's great Mainz festival, in the year 1184, with its unprecedented magnificence, its agglomeration of half the magnates of Europe, acted as a potent stimulus upon the German imagination, calling a sudden burst of poetry into existence. The lyrists of the South entitled themselves *Minnesinger*, literally, singers of love; *Minne* being an old

German word for pure or sentimental love. These *Minnesinger* were mostly Swabians, who, by their Alsatian and Swiss frontiers, were in immediate contact with the Arelat, the very cradle of troubadourism; and they appear to have borrowed from their poetic neighbours the form and manner of their lays, with their artificial structure and complication of rhyme, whilst happily avoiding their licentiousness and occasional infidelity—if the word be applicable to what seems merely dislike of the priesthood. Their effusions offer less variety of topic, being more exclusively devoted to the love of the noble knights who wrote them for their chosen ladies, and breathe genuine passion in simple language. Some hymns written by priests are among the few exceptions to the amatory strain. If at times it appears that the Minnesinger's flame burns, like the troubadour's, unlawfully, for one whose nuptial vow makes such homage insult; their lays are allowed generally to place woman in a sphere of ideal sanctity, incompatible with the light, as illicit, amours celebrated by their Provençal masters and rivals, and even when the attachment is immoral, it at least appears to be genuine and sincere. Their strains are likewise less witty and less fanciful than those in the Langue d'oc.(259) Need the reader be reminded that Henry VI once enrolled himself amongst the Minnesingers who, in this century at least, appear to have been almost invariably high-born.

Narrative poems, the Germans, it has already been stated, had in the earliest times; and the demand for novelty in this department of literature appears to have constantly produced an adequate supply, if of inferior quality. Ballads commemorating contemporaneous feats they never seem to have been without. The extravagant exploit and death of Earl Egbert and his comrades, before Milan, for instance, is said to have called forth many such. Nor was Germany without longer works, original or translated; one of these, Herzog Ernst, being proved to have existed prior to the Mainz festival, by the circumstance of Berthold von Andechs having, in 1180, asked the Abbot of Tegernsee for a copy of it. This work, half dull history, half adventures in the style of the 'Arabian Nights,' speaks of a Latin original.(260) But such long tales were few;

and the ballads were now apparently somewhat slighted, as mere popular ditties, unworthy to be classed with the epics, and the lyrics that burst into existence at the close of the century,—known under the general title of *Kunst-poesie*, or artistic poetry,—and were designed for the re-creation of the educated portion of society. But these narrative poems, of superior pretensions, if the offspring of the Mainz festival, had not time to acquire their full development in the short remainder of the 12th century; and may therefore more fitly come before the reader with their maturer, immediate successors of the 13th. For the present it may be enough to say that the German poets chiefly occupied themselves in translating Norman and Breton romances, although one, Albert von Halberstadt, more ambitiously devoted his labours to presenting Ovid in German attire. He inrich von Veldeke, or Waldeck, however, must, upon the very first mention of the rise of Germany poetry, be specifically named. He was at once a minnesinger and an epic poet—if the high title may be used as descriptive of the species, regardless of the success or failure of the attempt—and was highly admired for his introduction of proper *minne*, *i.e.*, love scenes between Eneas and Lavinia, into an ENEIS that he at the close of the century was translating, or imitating, from the French, rather than from Latin; but, yet more, he was the writer who regulated and systematized German verse, with respect both to metre and to rhyme; who taught the distinction between perfect and imperfect rhymes, the *consonancias* and *asonancias* of the Spaniards.(261)

Early in this century a peculiar, comic style of popular satiric poetry, called by the Germans the *Thier-epos*, or Animal-epic, arose. In it animals are endowed with human faculties, qualities, and passions—in accordance with their own respective natures, and without deviating from their own appropriate habits—and represented as acting their parts, wittily and naturally in a long and somewhat complicated story; and this German critics hold to be quite a distinct species of poem from the short didactic fables of the ancients and the moderns, in which animals are the actors. Of the peculiar style in question, REYNARD THE FOX is believed to be the oldest, as it is by far the best speci-

men, and perhaps the only one that has survived. It is believed, by the best critics, to have arisen in the Netherlands, though early overlaid there, together with poetry of a higher strain, by the commercial character of the country. In Germany, where that character could never quite smother the love of mental as well as of sensual enjoyment, it was much cultivated; and REYNARD THE FOX was translated from Flemish into high and low German; as it was also into French and English.(262) Richard Cœur-de-Lion in a *Sirvente*, speaks of the wolf by the name he bears in that poem, *Isengrim*, and in the oldest portion of the beautiful Freyburg Cathedral, built prior to 1150, is carved a wolf in a monk's cowl, evidently an allusion to the poem—an extraordinary place in which to find such a solid lampoon upon monks.

But in Germany, yet longer than in France or England, the authors most esteemed were those who wrote in Latin. Historians would have deemed it an insult to Clio, to employ in her service any humbler form of speech; and many chroniclers there, as the writers flattered themselves, classically recorded the events of their own and of preceding times. The names of some of them have been cited when contradictory accounts of any occurrence were mentioned, and two only of this century appear to merit distinct specification here. These are Lambert of Aschaffenburg, who ranks amongst the best writers of his day, and Otho Bishop of Freising, one of the sons of Princess Agnes by her second marriage, uncle and biographer of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa. This princely historian, revered by his contemporaries alike for his talents, his virtues, and his learning, was esteemed the ornament of his order and of his country.(263) One merit, however, which has frequently been assigned him, to wit, the having, upon his return from the Crusade, in which he accompanied his half-brother Conrad III, introduced Aristotle to Western Europe, has latterly, upon good grounds, been denied him; ample proof existing in the writings of authors who lived earlier in the century, that the Stagyrite was known and admired, whether understood or not, prior to that Crusade. Of Latin poets it will suffice to name Gunther, an Alsatian monk, who had

been secretary to Frederic I, and, at the end of the twelfth century, produced a poem, entitled LIGURINUS, upon that Emperor's Lombard wars. This bold attempt at an epic, in a genuine spirit of emulation, perhaps, in its turn, produced the lately mentioned PHILIPPEIS of Gulielmus Brito.

Italy was the last of all the countries under consideration, to cultivate her vernacular with its "syllables that breathe of the sweet South;" and, at the earliest, it was very late in this century before any one thought it capable of being written. For this there might be two reasons. The one, that Latin would naturally linger longest in its native country, where it must, when elsewhere a sort of cypher of the learned, have remained to the people a living language, as well as a living monument of those glories of their ancestors, in which, as well classical as political and military, they took pride. In proof of the degree to which mediæval Italians clung to the classical past, it may be told that, late in this century, Mantua assumed the title of the Virgilian city; and a statue of her venerated poetic son, in Parian marble, adorning the market-place, was annually, upon the 15th of October, which tradition calls his birthday, crowned with laurel by the youth of both sexes, as they sang and danced around it.(264) Hence whoever did write, wrote in Latin. The other, that the similarity of the Langue d'oc to the dialect spoken in Lombardy, rendering it generally understood there, naturally led, in leaving Latin, to writing in the neighbouring already cultivated language. Even in southern Italy this similarity, though much fainter, aided by Countess Adelaide's importation of troubadours as well as of troubadour tastes, may not have been uninfluential; less powerful, however, than in Lombardy; and, accordingly, in the South is the first Italian found. Attempts have, indeed, been made to claim for Italian poetry precedence to that of the troubadours, upon the strength of two inscriptions in a cathedral; but critical investigation, even by Italians who would have rejoiced in substantiating the claim, has discovered irrefragable internal evidence that these inscriptions are of a very much later date.(265) This pretension being abandoned, Italian poetry was supposed to have owed its birth to the thirteenth century;

thus making it as decidedly too young: for a fragment exists, written by Vincenzo Ciullo di Alcama, or del Cama, a Sicilian, bearing internal evidence of having been composed before the year 1194; since it speaks of Saladin as alive, and threatening Christendom.[266] One solitary exception, however, being insufficient to render Italian poetry a subject for the present chapter, it must be reserved for the review of the thirteenth century; with the single remark that not only was this Ciullo a Sicilian, but so decidedly did Sicily take the lead of Italy in verse, that Sicilian was long the comprehensive designation of Italian poetry.

With this single exception the historians and poets abounding in Italy throughout the century, and fostered by Frederic I, as a patron of letters and learning, wrote Latin or Provençal; and the chief praise awarded the first is that they, like their contemporaries elsewhere, wrote it better than their predecessors. Of these it may be enough to name the prose historians, Arnolfo, the two Landolfos, Ser Raul, Ottone and Acerbo Morena (the last of whom Frederic named Podestà of Como) in the north; and in the south, the very learned Romoaldo Archbishop of Salerno, who has been introduced as a princely-born prelate, statesman, and physician, Falcone da Benevento, and Ugo Falcando, a Sicilian, long called the Sicilian Tacitus. Another contemporary writer, Goffredo di Viterbo,—chaplain to the Emperors Conrad III, Frederic I, and Henry VI—presented to Urban III, in the year 1186, a history, partly in prose, partly metrical, entitled PANTHEON, recording all the transactions of the human race from the creation to the marriage of Henry VI. In addition to his fame as an historian and a poet, he was celebrated as a great traveller and linguist, being master of Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic. Italian antiquaries have hesitated to claim Goffredo as a compatriot; but Muratori explains and positively rejects their doubts. A Venetian monk about this time translated Aristotle's Topics and Analytics into Latin. But the glory of Italy, in the twelfth century, was Pietro Lombardo, surnamed The Master of Sentences; a native of Novarra, and disciple of Abelard, who died Bishop of Paris in 1160. His four Books of Sentences, in which he discusses and decides questions

beyond the reach of human reason, at once superseded the writings of Lanfranco and Anselmo, as the text book of scholastic theology, being esteemed both more methodical and fuller of matter.(267) It must be added that the Norman Kings of Sicily favoured Arab literature, or at least Arab authors, and Edrisi Escheriff either wrote, or translated into Latin, his Arabic GEOGRAFIA NUBICA, by King Roger's desire: and that Genoa marked her value for literature, historical at least, by appointing a regular historiographer.

The remainder of Europe may be briefly despatched. In Arab Spain, under the lenient sway of the Almohades, more civilized and cultivated than the Almoravides, Arab literature and philosophy revived. But, even under the savage Almoravides, had arisen one of the brightest intellectual stars of that country, Averrhoes of Cordova, who, banished by them, taught chiefly in Morocco under the victorious Almohades. He translated several of Aristotle's works into Arabic, and devoted his life to expounding them, whence his surname of the Commentator. Moslem Spain then contained seventy public libraries. In Christian Spain it has been seen that the language and poetry of the troubadour were cultivated, but not every where alike. In Castile, least; and there, during the first half of the century, a secretary of the *Cid's* wrote a Spanish poem upon the life of the admired champion, with as much, if not more, genuine poetry, and of the really epic character than any mediæval production that had previously appeared could boast.(268) Alfonso II of Aragon is said to have written verses in Aragonese; and, as early as 1135, the vulgar tongue of Castile was introduced into political life, by its employment in a municipal charter, granted to Avila, in the Asturias.(269)

In the north of Europe, Denmark boasted her Latin historian, Saxo Grammaticus, one of the most esteemed of the age, and her Latin poet Helmhold, whilst Scalds, it is said, still sang at court in the old Norse tongue. The most remarkable Dane of the twelfth century was, however, Absalom, Archbishop of Lund. But, although it was professedly for his great learning, that, at his royal foster-brother Waldemar's recommendation, he was elected

Bishop of Roeskild before attaining the canonical age, he is distinguished rather as a patron of learning than as a writer, and yet more as a statesman, a general, and an admiral, than as either.(270) In republican Iceland, Snorre Sturleson was writing history and compiling the prose Edda. By his labours he acquired fame and such wealth as provoked the enmity or excited the cupidity of his own family, and he was murdered by the husband of one of his daughters.(271) In Norway, feudalism gained a footing during this century; but neither that kingdom nor Sweden yet aspired to much literature beyond the singing the feats of reigning Kings, by Icelandic and native Scalds. Russia, where Moscow had now succeeded to Vladimir, as the Grand-Principality, is said to have had chroniclers during the twelfth century; but little seems known of them, the Mongol desolation of the thirteenth having temporarily swept away all progressive civilization in the eastern Slavonian states, and more completely as more lastingly in Russia than in Poland and Hungary. It is said that Servian MSS. of the twelfth century are still in existence, and the names of the canonized Servian Archbishop St. Sabbas, of Archbishop Daniel, and of the Benedictine Dometian, are recorded as Servian chroniclers and legists.(272)

In the Eastern Empire letters were still cultivated; but their decline, the degeneracy of the fruits of human intellect, does not and cannot attract attention like their development out of non-existence, in younger countries. The Syro-Frank states produced one only writer whose name has any claim to the respect of posterity; to wit, William Archbishop of Tyre, whose virtues equalled his abilities. He was the preceptor of Baldwin IV, and historian of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Throughout the century, Persia, Egypt, and most of the Saracen states abounded in poets, historians, and philosophers; but so slightly are they connected with the Holy Roman Empire or with Christendom, save as the enemies of the kingdom of Jerusalem, that this brief notice of their decline not having yet begun, may suffice.

In the course of this century the drama showed symptoms of germination, which, how faint soever, promised

future blossoms and fruits, and this in divers places. In Spain, *Autos Sacramentales, i. e.*, Mysteries, are said to have been performed during this century.(273) At Paris, returned palmers frequently gave representations in the open air of scenes and events of the Crusades in which they had participated, for the edification, rather than for the amusement, of the non-crusading spectators,(274) and partly, it may be suspected, for their own glorification. In England, a MYSTERY OF ANTICHRIST appears to have been performed before Queen Elinor; and a letter from Pierre de Blois, then Archdeacon of Bath and Secretary of Henry II, to his brother, Abbot William, Master of the Revels, congratulates him upon the success of his tragedy of FLAURA AND MARCUS, when performed before the same enlightened patroness of letters.(275) In Germany, another Mystery of Antichrist was played, probably before Frederic I, certainly during his reign; as appears from an old MS. found in the Tegernsee monastery; which describes it as an Easter pastime of the Advent and Destruction of Antichrist,(276) in which Popes and Emperors conversed with Antichrist and with Lady Heresy. Both the tragedy and the mysteries may be presumed to have been Latin compositions. But, as before said, the troubadour genius produced one drama, if no more. This one, a comedy, entitled HEREGIA DE LOS PREYRES, was written by Anselmo Faïdit, a Provençal troubadour of inferior condition, who, marrying a beautiful courtesan, led with her a vagrant histrionic life. The comedy was performed at the Court of the Marquess of Montferrat, chiefly, it seems, by the husband and wife.(277)

The Crusades did more for science than for literature; inasmuch as Western Europe received less of Greek philosophy from the degenerate children of ancient Hellas, subjects of the Eastern Empire, than from the Arabs. If much of this came from Arab Spain, that much also came from Asia may be inferred, even from the erroneous belief that Bishop Otho first made Aristotle known in Western or Latin Europe. He must have brought home new Greek copies of some of his works, and very possibly some that were scarcely known, save through Arabic versions. Both in Italy and in England monks are said to

have been occupied early in the century in translating Euclid from an Arabic version. Original Arabic treatises upon physics and geometry were brought to Europe from the East, chiefly by Englishmen. Individual Italians appear to have been acquainted with Algebra, as far as quadratic equations, but to have kept their knowledge a profound secret(278)—possibly lest they should be burnt as sorcerers. Geography was still so little advanced that much doubt prevailed touching the shape of the earth; and although the Blessed Alpaïs de Credot in a vision beheld it as a spheroid, the general opinion still inclined to hold it a square, surrounded by the sea, and so suspended or floating in the air. This science was, nevertheless, advancing, and that from its legitimate source of information, travel. To the crusades, some knowledge of eastern countries was due, which would naturally awaken a desire to know more, besides giving the missionary tendencies of the age an impulse towards the land of the morning; and the missionary monks were amongst the most judiciously observant travellers of those days. Again, the great fairs, drawing together merchants from the most remote regions, would, by the intercourse of these strangers with one another, give rise to so much knowledge of each other's remote homes, as might excite the curiosity of Europeans respecting the countries, whence costly wares were brought, and half a wish to visit them. Thus it is averred, that, towards the close of the twelfth century, at the fair held at Kiew upon the Dnieper, Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, and other Orientals met the natives of every European state.(279) Thus, perhaps, might the Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, be induced to undertake the long and adventurous peregrination of which he has left the record to posterity: a record not to be rashly rejected, because he speaks of vessels from Cracow—vessels which, having to descend the Vistula, must have been adapted to river navigation—meeting those of England and Russia, in the port of Alexandria. Another traveller, Leonardo Fibonacci, a Pisan, confined his researches to the Greek empire and northern Africa, and gave his contemporaries the result of his journeyings in a treatise on arithmetic or the Italian *Abaco*, from which treatise Italy is supposed to have ob-

tained the first idea of Algebra. Goffredo di Viterbo's travels have been mentioned; and from all this actual observation, geography improved. In the year 1200, Guyot de Provins, a French poet, speaks of the mariner's compass as in familiar use;[280] and in an inventory, dated 1138, of the property of a German convent, is a distinct description of a burning glass.

In the course of this century, High-Schools and Colleges began to assume the title of Universities, although some difference of opinion still exists, as to what, in those times, was held to constitute an university. Those, who give the title early in the century,[281] think that, in schools one or two sciences only were taught, or at most the *trivium*, and that where the *quadrivium* was superadded, the universal character of the instruction afforded, impressing itself upon the school, converted it into an university. Others, arguing from the description, *Universitas Doctorum et Scholarium*, think that the association of professors and students, natives of different countries, gave the seat of learning that dignity; and others again contend, that authority to grant the degree of Doctor constituted, or was the distinctive mark of, an university.[282]

The last theory, which agrees with Savigny's opinion, that not the school but the constituted school-corporation was the university, seems every way the most plausible: the others leaving a title, that appears to have been much valued, really open to occupancy; inasmuch as, whenever a school was celebrated for any one science, students would resort thither from all parts; as would teachers of other sciences, to profit by the concourse of students; since professors, depending for remuneration wholly upon payment by those who attended their lectures, required no appointment by brother professors. This theory, moreover, pre-supposes a charter by a Sovereign; and although the immediate connexion may not be easily traced, it is certain that the title of University appears much about the time, when Frederic granted various privileges by charter to the schools of Bologna, whose jurists had emitted opinions so consonant to his own views. The most important of these privileges was the exemption of students from the jurisdiction of the city magistrates,

subjecting them solely to a tribunal formed of the Professors and Heads of the University—but, when it is recollected that the students were then mostly preparing to take, or already in, Holy Orders, and that to be able to read was long sufficient proof of the clerical character, this privilege, strange as it seems, becomes little more than a recognition of the clerical claim to exemption from lay jurisdiction. The name of university was not borne by any Moslem Colleges, universal as they were in tuition.

Universities, as well as High-Schools, were arising throughout France, England, and Italy; in Germany, only the latter. Cities, that were ambitious of the higher institution, endeavoured to seduce professors and their scholars from established universities; whilst, upon the slightest offence given by a municipality, or even upon a quarrel amongst themselves, a party of professors with their respective students would migrate in a body to plant an infant university elsewhere, as in both cases they seem to have believed that they carried their share of the charter, or of the corporate character, with them. It was through such a quarrel that the Paduan grew out of the Bolognese University. Bologna sought to prevent the recurrence of such desertions by requiring all professors and students to take an oath, the former never to teach, the latter never to study, elsewhere. But the Popes steadily prohibited the demanding or taking of so illiberal an oath; and professors and scholars continued to desert and return at their pleasure. Bologna had no need to resort to such arbitrary measures, for her University bore the highest of characters, being held supreme in civil law, second, probably in canon law and all other sciences; it was frequented accordingly. There the statesman-prelate, Thomas-à-Becket studied; there the troubadour chronicler of Richard Cœur-de-Lion's Crusade, Geoffrey de Vinisauf, had been Professor of Grammar, equivalent to Belles Lettres, in modern phraseology; and thence Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury invited Vacarius, to establish a Chair of Civil Law at Oxford. By the end of the century Bologna boasted 10,000 students.(283) Oxford, that had declined under the early Normans, revived under Henry II, and though Vacarius could not quite raise it to the first rank

in Civil law, or Pulleyne, in the Scholasticism which he had learned at Paris, it had its distinction; becoming pre-eminent in Canon law, for which students from all parts of Europe repaired thither. Cambridge had been favoured by Henry I, but does not appear to have as early acquired great celebrity. The Parisian University, retaining the direction given it by Lanfranco, Anselmo, and Abelard, excelled all others in Scholasticism; before which the trivium and quadrivium speedily disappeared. This did not satisfy the popes, who strove to make scholastic theology not only the principal but well-nigh the exclusive study there. Alexander III actually forbade the perusal and expounding of the pagan poets of classical antiquity within its walls. In this, however, he was not obeyed. To the University of Paris the sons of German princes were now sent for education, notwithstanding the merited reputation of the German High Schools—not universities —of Corvey, Fulda, and St. Gall, and at Paris Archbishop Absalom acquired his far-famed learning. At the close of the century, Philip Augustus granted the University of Paris privileges and exemptions similar to those granted by Frederic Barbarossa to that of Bologna. Without further particularising, it may be stated that, in this century, the Jews established, for their own race solely, a High-School at Lunel, in France, where medicine and the Talmud were chiefly taught; and which, in medicine, speedily rivalled the Salernitan institution. At all universities and high-schools, the course of study required from six to ten years' attendance.

Of the fine arts, Architecture only can be said to have made any progress during these three quarters of a century. The passion for building churches, the rise of which was related in the Introduction, (183*) stimulated, it should seem, by the impression that Oriental magnificence and Oriental fantasticalness, made upon the imagination of the Crusaders, had continued to develop itself, and produced the Gothic style.(284) Grand religious edifices everywhere sprang up to embellish the land, whilst testifying to the piety of its inhabitants. In Italy the Pisan Cathedral was completed, the Baptistery and *Campanile*, otherwise the leaning tower, were built, the fashion of

detaching *campaniles* or belfries, from the church to which they belong, being then introduced. Cremona and Mantua had begun their cathedrals, Verona had completed hers, which Urban III consecrated whilst accidentally resident in this city. The Siculo-Norman kings mostly contented themselves with converting the splendid Arab mosque at Palermo into a cathedral, and building a few churches in Apulia. William II, however, deviating from this parsimonious course, built the magnificent church dedicated to the Virgin at Monreale. In Germany many cathedrals previously begun were finished; and, amongst others of less celebrity, Freyburg Cathedral was built, Strasburg Minster begun; but nowhere perhaps was the feeling, that impelled what may be termed patriotic piety, to the erection of such costly edifices, dedicated to religious purposes more vividly exemplified than at Vienna. There, St. Stephen's Cathedral was, in the year 1140 or 1144, begun by Henry Jasomir, who is said to have invited from Cracow a Polish architect, named Octavian Wolzner,(285) a name that sounds, it must be owned, somewhat German, to plan and construct it. But such was the general zeal for the combined sanctification and adornment of the city by this magnificent pile, dedicated to prayer and thanksgiving, that persons of all ranks and both sexes not only carried food to the workmen employed upon the building, but, for the purpose of sharing in the holy labour, harnessed themselves to the waggons conveying stone, lime, or other of the materials required. So efficient was this ardour, that, in 1147, the cathedral was actually completed, opened, and consecrated by the Bishop of Passau, then, as before said, virtually the Metropolitan of Austria.

In France, ecclesiastical architecture had not yet taken much hold of the public mind; but the Abbé Suger, prime minister of Lewis VI and Lewis VII, began the Abbey and Church of St. Denys; Alexander III, whilst sheltered in France, laid the first stone of *Nôtre Dame* at Paris, at the solicitation of the Bishop of Paris, its founder. This prelate was Maurice de Sully, whose name must not be mentioned without the addition of an anecdote, characteristic of the man and in some measure of the times.

He was the son of peasants, and raised to the prelacy by his talents, learning, and virtues. After his elevation, his mother walked to Paris to visit him. Some women, of whom she asked her way to the episcopal palace, with maternal pride explaining her errand, were shocked at the idea of their prelate's mother in so poor a garb, and dressed her better. Thus attired, she entered her son's presence, crying, "My child! my child!" but he coldly answered, "My mother wore only linsey-wolsey. Yon fine lady, cannot be her." She went out, resumed her russet garb, and he received her with filial reverence as well as affection. The Order of Clugny built the magnificent church of the Mother Abbey. In Spain, England, Scotland, and Ireland, cathedrals everywhere started into existence; and in every country the Templars built churches, which, when, as in Spain, within reach of misbelievers, were distinguished by combining the character of a fortress with that of a place of worship.(286) Even to Russia this devotional architectural impulse extended; and Andrei, Grand-Prince of Vladimir, whilst Vladimir was the sovereign principality, applied to Frederic Barbarossa for an architect, capable of building him a cathedral in his capital.

The taste for architecture did not, however, quite limit itself to churches. If, again, at Palermo, the Norman kings contented themselves with inheriting the splendours and luxuries, in the shape of palace and gardens, of their Arab predecessors, at Naples they built the fortress-palaces of Castello Capuano, and Castel dell' Uovo, whence to control the turbulent population. The Doge completed the ducal palace at Venice; the Pope commenced what must rather be termed re-building than repairing the Vatican, so thoroughly was the old palace in ruins. In Germany, Frederic Barbarossa, about the year 1140, before he was even Duke of Swabia, built a small palace upon the banks of the Kinzig, a stream but little known; his choice of the site is believed to have been determined by a passion for a beautiful damsel there resident, from whose name, Gela, he named the edifice Gelnhausen. Of this palace, situated nearly at the foot of a hill, there remains, amidst the town that grew up around it, just enough to

show that the architecture was chastely decorative. The chief fragment now to be seen is part of a sort of colonnade screen, apparently the separation between the Hall of Justice and some other hall; "simple, grand, well-planned, and proportioned, and, as far as the ruins afford means of judging, well adapted for habitation."(287) It must be presumed that the Emperor enlarged what the young Prince built for a hunting-lodge, Gelnhausen being frequently mentioned as his favourite residence, when, as sovereign, he would need very different accommodation. In France, Philip Augustus began the Louvre.

Painting, sculpture, and mosaic work seem to have remained throughout the century much what they were at its opening. Cultivated, or rather practised, they indisputably were; of this there are various proofs. The consecration of the Cathedral of Verona by Urban III, was portrayed, with likenesses, it is believed, of the Pope and of all the Cardinals present. The Abbé Suger invited an artist from Lorrain, to paint the leading incident of his sovereign's Crusade, upon the windows of St. Denys, which he was then building; and the German painters formed themselves into a guild, choosing St. Luke for their patron. But, amidst all this zeal, those Galleries, that profess to exhibit the history of Painting from its infancy to the fulness of its mature perfection, as those of the Academy at Florence and of the Pinakothek at Munich, show that in these seventy-five years the graphic Art had not advanced. Of Sculpture much the same may be said, as far as means exist of judging for ourselves, and appreciating contemporary praise by the eulogist's standard of comparison. Statues of distinguished persons were prepared to adorn their monuments. Thus an effigy of the Empress Beatrice was placed upon her tomb at Wulzheim in Franconia, and one of Frederic Barbarossa by her side, far distant as were the Imperial veteran's ashes. The art of the humbler Carver, if not actually preferred to the Statuary's, appears to have been throughout the century in more general request—perhaps as easier—for the decoration of churches, whether the subject upon which it was exercised were men, animals, flowers, or unmeaning ornaments. The carved lampoon of the wolf in a monk's cowl

in Freyburg Cathedral has been already mentioned, and St. Bernard's earnest objection to disturbing the absorption of prayer by the introduction of the Arts into churches, will hardly have been forgotten. The date of the carved altar at Parma is fixed by a Latin distich to the year 1178; and that of 1200, assigned to the carved doors of Sta. Sabina at Rome, shows them to be the work of the same century with which we are occupied.(288) Figures of Saints and Martyrs in Mosaic are to be seen in the principal churches built during the century; and even in the Venetian St. Mark's, though already consecrated, Byzantine Mosaicists were still at work upon the internal decoration. The Art that appears to have made most progress is that of casting in metal. Towards the end of the century the custom of casting church doors, covered with historical groups from the Bible, began and gradually became prevalent; and if there were little merit in the execution of the figures, this was, at least, a bold conception. The doors of the Pisan Cathedral date from 1180. The coins appear unimproved, but Frederic's bear witness to his admiration of Charlemagne, whose head adorns one side of his gold pieces, his own the other. But stationary as the Arts may seem, a very decided promise of future progress is discoverable, in a nascent sense of the superiority of classic art, and the high value of its remains. At Rome, before the close of the century, the Popes had positively forbidden the removing, or in any way damaging, any of these remains of whatsoever description: and a Cardinal Orsini had even begun, it is affirmed, to collect antique busts and statues.

Of the progress, or no progress, of music it is more difficult to form an opinion, there being no means of testing the praises of contemporaries. It was to be conjectured that, after the invention or general adoption of musical notation, improvement would be rapid; and some advance from the state, needing such directions, as, that all persons performing one piece should begin together, &c.(289) there certainly must have been; or the holy Abbot of Clairvaux could hardly have found it necessary to protest against church music, so elaborate and ornamental as to divert attention from the rites of worship.

In the art of war changes were preparing by the mere existence of a military profession and mercenary troops. But this novelty being as yet in its infancy, the consequent changes were barely in embryo. In military engineering mention is occasionally made of more skilfully constructed mangonels and other stone-hurling or battering machines; but still they are only improvements of the former engines, no new invention, or real innovation appears. The Greek fire, till near the close of the century, was scarcely known to the warriors of Western Europe, and by them looked upon as magic, the gift of the fiend to those enemies of God, the idolatrous worshippers of Mahound and Termagaunt, for such they deemed the rigidly monotheistic Moslems. This Greek fire, never employed, seemingly, by the nations of Western Europe, is described as one of many combinations of saltpetre, sulphur and charcoal, devised by the Chinese; and that from them the Arabs received their knowledge upon the subject, appears from the names of Chinese flower, Chinese arrow, &c., given to some of the projectile forms in use amongst them. The chief difference between these compositions and gunpowder, with which the latest investigators of the subject, Reinaud and Favé, hold the Arabs in the 12th and 13th centuries to have been altogether unacquainted,[290] is the absence of detonation, and of consequent intense projectile force, even when explosion there was; and this they ascribe to the defective preparation of saltpetre. The vessels containing the mixture were thrown by hand, or, like stones, from machines; their destructive power lay in the certainty of their setting whatever they touched on fire, in the rapidity of the combustion they produced, and in the difficulty of extinguishing the conflagration.

In the science of navigation, the familiar use of the mariner's compass must necessarily have produced much improvement, though it is not recorded; and the size and character of the vessels then employed is left to be inferred from such incidentally occurring statements as these: that, at the close of the century, Norway possessed a fleet of 292 ships, manned by 12,790 sailors;[291] that Venice, upon a sudden quarrel with one of the Constantinopolitan

usurpers, equipped, and provided for 100 days, a fleet of 100 ships; and the like.

The progress of the useful arts comes next under consideration. In civil engineering, the only very perceptible advance is that one of the above-mentioned explosive preparations, or one analogous to them, supposed to have been a sort of bad gunpowder, is said to have been used for blasting rocks in Saxony.(292) In agriculture, horticulture, and manufactures, it is yet more difficult to learn anything. The before-mentioned disdain of the old chroniclers, for all such matters, leaving us to seek scanty information from the most casual notice or intimation bearing thereon. In agriculture, improvement can be but slow, and none is discoverable; although, if the culture of the vine be included, England must be said to have retrograded since the twelfth century, when William of Malmesbury describes the Vale of Gloucester as abounding in vineyards, the grapes of which were good, yielding wine little inferior to French.(293) But vines should perhaps come under the head of horticulture, which was evidently attracting attention. The poems of the day speak much of gardens; and as it may be conjectured that the gardens of Damascus would excite the fancy of the Crusaders, as much as other branches of enjoyable Oriental luxury, it may be further conjectured that princes and great nobles now had gardens for fruit and flowers (known in England under the name of Pleasaunce) attached to their castles: although, where defence was the main object, such gardens must evidently have been either within the walls, and therefore very confined, or sacrificed at the first siege.

As to manufactures, Falcando speaks of making sugar from the cane, in Sicily, by boiling. Queen Elinor is said to have introduced the rearing of the silkworm and silk-weaving, into her duchy of Aquitaine. But, whilst in the south of Spain every branch of the silk manufacture appears to have flourished, under the Christians, as it had under the Arabs, it does not seem as yet to have extended much into Italy, either from Sicily or from Provence. The poets of the century describe great magnificence in

hangings, dress, goldsmith's work, and the like; but it were hard to discriminate between these, and the similar splendours described by Donizo a century earlier. And, with these slight exceptions, all that is known is that manufactures were spreading, that more and more towns were acquiring wealth and reputation by their industry, and that more and more laws were enacted for the protection of trade, internal and external. It may be added that copying and illuminating MSS. were occupations no longer confined to the cloister, but had become a distinct business, or rather a branch of the bookseller's.

The habits and feelings of social life change so slowly, that three-quarters of a century hardly suffice to produce any very perceptible alteration. The character of the age was still exaggeration and contrast, both rather increasing than otherwise. Whilst the houses of the wealthiest merchants in the arrogant Italian cities still knew not the luxury of lamps or candles,—being lighted as before with flakes of fir wood,—and glass windows were a yet greater and rarer luxury, sumptuary laws were required to restrain the expenditure of the merchants themselves, as of their wives and daughters, in dress. In regard to the nobility, their occasional profusion is hardly explicable, even by the homely saying, that the money burnt in their pockets, for want of every-day comforts and luxuries upon which to expend it. This excess appears to have reached its climax in the south of France, where a Baron de Martel caused his meals to be regularly cooked by the heat of wax candles. Are the absurdities of extravagance committed at a tournament given by the King of England, with the object of reconciling the King of Aragon to the Duke of Narbonne, worth adding? Both Kings failed at the appointed time, and the intended scene of political business turned to one solely of pomp and pleasure. There, Bertrand Rambaud sowed a field, ploughed for that express purpose, with 600 marks of silver, in the shape of small coins; and Raymond de Venours gratified or shocked the whole assembly, with the spectacle of thirty of his own finest horses offered up as a holocaust to his vanity,—literally burnt before them.

These last really insane instances of extravagance were

not resorted to as compensation for the paucity of occasions upon which publicly to display senseless profusion, tournaments, now in their glory, being every year more frequent. Earnest had been the remonstrances of the sainted Abbot of Clairvaux against so idly risking human life, risking yet more, the eternal salvation of those who, in pursuit of amusement, might be thus unexpectedly sent, "unhouseled, unanointed, unannealed," to their account; and Alexander III, weary of fruitless denunciations to the same effect, at length forbade giving Christian burial to any man so dying. Nor were these few, since, as though to give weight to the Church's condemnation of this favourite pastime, at one tournament, held in Saxony, in the year 1177, sixteen knights were slain. The question had been fairly contested with the Pope two years before, when, A.D. 1175, a brother of the Margrave of Misnia died of a wound received in a tournament. Wichmann, Archbishop of Magdeburg, forbade the interment of the corse with church rites, or in consecrated ground, and excommunicated all who had taken any part in the tournament. The Margrave was obliged to send an embassy to Rome, and there make oath that his deceased brother had both confessed and received absolution, and, further, to pledge himself never to suffer another tournament to be held in his dominions, ere he could obtain papal permission to bury the dead body. And so little did all this check the passion for the dangerous, and, even therefore, exciting amusement, that, within ten years, A.D. 1185, Geoffrey, third son of Henry II of England, and Duke of Britany in right of his wife, being unhorsed in the *melée* of a tournament, was trampled to death by the charging steeds before he could be extricated. This accident occurred at Paris, tournaments being little known in England until introduced in their splendour by Richard Cœur-de-Lion. The papal throne was, at the moment of this last catastrophe, occupied, not by Alexander III, but by the dying Lucius III, or by Urban III, just elected, and it does not appear that any difficulty touching the Duke of Britany's interment occurred. The splendour and expense of tournaments increased with their frequency. Mimes, *joculatores*, and minstrels, though treated as vagrants by the law, were

now deemed indispensable at every, the poorest, tournament; and at one that had any pretensions to be esteemed first-rate, a *tenzon*, or poetical jousting, of troubadours was expected. But these pleasures did not supersede gambling, which was a decidedly prevalent vice, as appears from the laws made against it. Some were mentioned in the Introduction; Richard, in his code of discipline for his Crusade, forbade games of chance to all under knightly rank, limiting the amount to be risked by all under princely station. Grand festivals, as *e. g.* the nuptials of Henry the Proud with the Imperial Princess Gertrude, were celebrated in the open air, no house being sufficient to contain the number of guests.

Progressive change was most apparent in the extraordinary exaltation of woman. The troubadours set the fashion both of being always in love and of professing devotion to the whole sex, as such, indiscriminately. This devotion the minnesinger, it has been seen, idealized as well as purified, and woman took her station accordingly. It is to be regretted, that the effect upon society of her enthronement, was, in the first instance, either so trifling as to be scarcely discerned, or, where considerable, not productive of unmixed good. In France, where she assumed most sovereignty, mentally intoxicated with the homage she received, she forgot that there are two essentially feminine virtues or qualities, the absence of which renders the loftiest virtues, the most powerful and most cultivated intellect, in her valueless;—namely, chastity, and its attendant, modesty. Thus, if she softened the ferocity of manners, she can hardly be said to have refined them, when she made no effort to guard them from the taint of licentiousness, and even encouraged tasteless luxury. The tenor of the amorous elegies, addressed by troubadours to the lady of their heart or of their fancy, shows that conjugal fidelity was seldom an obstacle to the success of an enamoured poet; and did this proof want corroboration, it might be found in the verdicts of the *Cours d'Amour*, or Love's Tribunals, that fantastic Provençal creation of the twelfth century. The ladies, who sat as Judges in those regularly constituted tribunals, for deciding with all legal formalities, the, as regularly pleaded, quarrels

and complaints of lovers, and the reciprocal duties of couples of lovers, married or unmarried, towards each other, the claims and rights of the latter were almost invariably esteemed superior to those of the former, whilst the questions they discussed were not unfrequently of a description to which hardly could an allusion at the present day be borne. These *Cours d'Amour* were pretty much confined to the South of France;(294) and of all this over-exaltation of woman there was far less in Germany. Her seclusion, if secluded she were, being the offspring of the respect rather than of the jealousy of the stronger sex, had been free from slavery; and when she calmly issued from it, the chaster sentiments breathed by minnesingers and narrative poets did not quite turn her brain, like the lighter gallantry of the troubadour, or at least the intoxication was of a more ethereal kind. Veldeke represents the intercourse of the two sexes as unstained by immorality, being consonant to pure *minne*:—the sentimentality of later German poetry, the evil influence of which appertains to a very different state of society.

But, on the other hand, woman seems to have been unable here to exercise either refining or softening influence upon manners. Whilst the boy pages in noble households were taught to profess respectful passion, and practise innocent gallantry as a tribute due from the strong to the weak, a lesson which it was judged best to teach prior to the awakening of instinctive feelings, the Lord of the castle with his male guests, would still sit days and nights immoveable at a table, until they should have swallowed some certain, predetermined, fearful as unimaginable quantity of liquor, or till all but one, the victor in the drinking contest, were laid prostrate.

To these remarks upon the over-exaltation of the female sex, connected, whether as cause, or as effect, with the mystically enthusiastic devotion of the age to the Virgin, may be added, in illustration of mediæval contradictions, that the evidence of women was inadmissible in some courts of law, especially those of Bavaria, where it still was so two centuries later, except in reference to dying bequests, to matrimonial questions, and to accusations of violence offered to one of their own sex.

Coarseness of manners was not the only, nor yet the most crying social evil, which needed reform in the twelfth century. The sanguinary character of legal punishments might still be conceived to be designed as a lure, by which private vengeance should be tempted to rest content with public redress. But the utter want of humanity still displayed towards prisoners of war—fellow creatures not even accused of any offence, and who might be supposed to command the sympathy of brother warriors—shews more than recklessness of the physical suffering of human beings; shews an actual pleasure in it, when the sufferer was an enemy. This barbarous treatment of such prisoners is averred to have been worst in Lombardy, where, from the mercantile character of the cities, there was little of the chivalrousness that could alone counteract the blended insolence and cruelty of the savage, brought into civilized life. Iron cages for prisons. are said to have been there invented in the course of the century.(295) Of the nature of the feelings that victory engendered, instead of allaying, the mode in which the Milanese shewed mercy to their Pavian captives, in actually dismissing them, will afford a sufficient exemplification. Having stripped them of their nether garments, they supplied the place of the hinder portion by a quantity of straw, to which, after so securing the hand of the victims that no one could help either himself or his neighbour, they set fire, and so drove them blazing away.(296)

But more painfully revolting to modern feelings than even this insolent cruelty, is it to find equivocation, if not something worse, still deemed compatible with the knightly character; at least, when it could be considered in the light of military stratagem. Something of this may have been observed in the conduct of the admired Henry the Lion: but two anecdotes of Lewis VII will more strongly illustrate the degrading view, not from any peculiar chivalrousness in this monarch, but because they do not appear to have exposed him to contemporary censure. In 1173, Lewis, being at war with Henry of England, besieged Verneuil; which, upon his swearing, together with his great vassals, that the inhabitants, if they sur-

rendered, should be unharmed in liberty, person, or purse, capitulated, to surrender if not relieved in three days. Upon the morning of the fatal third day, Henry II arrived within easy reach of the besiegers, at the head of an army so superior to theirs, that their defeat and the relief of Verneuil seemed inevitable. But Henry knew not of the capitulation, and Lewis deluded him through the day with negotiations for peace; whilst Verneuil, unconscious that the covenanted relief was at hand, needing but a summons, opened its gates according to agreement. Possession being by this stratagem obtained, the town, in violation of the oaths of King and Nobles, was sacked and burnt, the inhabitants being dragged away prisoners. But the excess of the perjury foiled its success. A retreat thus encumbered could not be expeditious, and Henry, discovering that he had been duped, pursued the triumphant French King, defeated him, and recovered all the prisoners, with all the plunder taken at Verneuil. The following year Lewis laid siege to Rouen, made a truce to allow of the celebration of St. Lawrence's festival; and, when he judged the townspeople to be absorbed in either their devotions or their subsequent merrymaking, was proceeding to storm the walls. But a Rouen priest, who fortunately preferred a solitary walk to festivity, had espied the movement in the hostile camp, and warned the intended victims. Again the hopes built upon treachery were disappointed.

Of these follies, faults, and crimes, piety and charity, blended as they are most especially in the injunctions of the Roman Catholic Church, were the redeeming concomitants. Churches, it has been seen, were everywhere built. Convents were simultaneously everywhere founded; and an anecdote relative to the manner in which one of these last acquired its name, may illustrate the forms of endowing such hallowed edifices. Henry the Bearded, Duke of Lower Silesia, grandson of the despoiled Vladislas, Grand-Duke of Cracow, and husband of the canonized Hedwig von Andechs, built a nunnery, endowing it largely with lands; part of which, that the whole might lie conveniently to the convent, he obtained by purchase, or barter, from neighbouring proprietors. This

arranged, he, with his great vassals, rode the boundaries of the convent-estate, then still the only way of insuring the general recognition of the nuns' right of possession; and having so done, he publicly and formally asked the Abbess whether she wished for anything more. The Silesians were at this time still Poles, speaking Polish; and in that language the Abbess answered, "Trzebanyez," signifying "Nothing more;" whence the nunnery received and retained the name of Trzebanyez.

But works of devotion that were likewise works of charity were yet more esteemed; and hospitals of all imaginable descriptions, for all imaginable wants, everywhere arose in emulation of, and in connexion with, the churches. *Beghards* and *Beguines*, or monks and nuns only half bound by monastic vows, but wholly devoted to the care of the indigent sick, and to attendance upon hospitals, were instituted. In 1198, an Order of Regular Augustinian Canons of the Holy Trinity was founded, whose sole business and duty was the redemption of Christians from Paynim slavery. They were called Mathurins, after their founder Jean de Matha; and, in token of humility, designated themselves not Canons but servants, *i. e. Ministri*, and their houses not cloisters but hospitals. As an act of merely worldly charity, the rich in times of scarcity opened their granaries, either gratuitously or at the ordinary price of plentiful seasons, to the poor; not only the lord so relieving the vassals and the villeins whose existence and well-being, constituted his wealth and power; but even the city noble and patrician, thus opening his stores to his distressed fellow-townsmen. It seems, indeed, that, when a compassionate spirit and obedience to the dictates of the ministers of religion proved an insufficient counterpoise to self-interest, charity became compulsory under the control of the sovereign; a control, however, sometimes fearfully resisted or resented. By such a benevolently-intended exertion of authority, Charles the Good, Earl of Flanders, one of the four candidates for the Empire at the election of Lothar, incurred the murderously vindictive hatred of some of his vassals. His principality was suffering, in the year 1127, under a scarcity, which, for the lower orders, presently became famine. This he, in the

first instance, endeavoured to relieve by easy measures, such as a prohibition of brewing, and of all unnecessary consumption of corn; including an order to kill all dogs, and accompanied by the distribution of bread in vast quantities to the poor. But, when all such means proved ineffectual, he commanded a search to be made upon the premises of the rich for accumulations of corn, beyond what was needful provision for their own families, and all such superabundant stores to be sold at a moderate price. The largest stock was found in the warehouses of the van Straaten family, to whom the Earl had previously given other cause of offence. A nobleman, with whom one of the members of this family had quarrelled, having refused his challenge because van Straaten was not his equal by birth, the challenger appealed to the Earl, who of course required the parties to prove each the nobility of his race. But to van Straaten this was impossible; the founder of the family having been a menial who, finding illicit favour in the eyes of his lady, in concert with her, murdered her husband, his lord; when she married him (227) The van Straatens could not forgive the disgrace of being compelled to own their origin (how they had ever passed for noble is the enigma, possibly the lady had been an heiress), and the whole family now conspired with other compelled sellers of corn, against Charles, whom they stabbed in church, at the very altar where he was kneeling in prayer. The assassins fled, but were all seized and put to death, with tortures, the most ingenious of which was the doom of the Earl's Chancellor, and as such the most criminal; he was hung by the feet with an unoffending dog, as at once partner of his fate and his executioner; being so situated that in agony, rage, or hunger, he would naturally gnaw his human fellow-victim's face.

That the religion, graced by active charity should still be disfigured by intolerance and superstition, cannot be matter of surprise, how much soever of regret. The intolerance has been abundantly shown, and will continue to be so; of it, therefore, nothing more need here be said; and the nature of the superstition may best be exemplified by an anecdote or two, which, even if one of them should

be thought better adapted to a ballad than to sober history, are too characteristic of the times to be omitted. In the first half of the century a Gräfinn von Berg, upon a calumnious accusation of adultery, was beheaded, and her two sons, being pronounced the offspring of her guilt, were, as spurious, disinherited. After her death her innocence was irrefragably demonstrated, according to tradition, by her headless ghost; whereupon her sons were reinstated in their birthright. Like most of their contemporaries, they were at war with their neighbours, and it should seem upon a grand scale, since one victory that they gained cost the lives of 924 men. Graf Eberhard, the youngest brother, had been dangerously wounded in the battle, and, during his tedious convalescence, became so sensible of the sinfulness of thus sacrificing human life, that, upon his recovery, he undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and there, concealing his name, entered a monastery, apparently as a lay brother. He seems to have been as yet unbound by the irrevocable vow, when some Crusaders, formerly his comrades, chanced to seek hospitality in the monastery, and as he, in a menial capacity, waited upon them, they recognised him by a scar. He, more devout than veracious, denied his identity; but they satisfied the Abbot that he really was Graf Eberhard von Berg, and the Abbot sent him home to his family.[298] Possibly he might yet be a minor, unauthorized thus to dispose of himself.

The adventures of the Countess of Berg and her son rest upon local tradition, but the strange incidents now to be related are avouched by legal documents, preserved in the archives of Bologna. In the year 1160, a Greek hermit, named Theocles Kmnia (*sic*), being at his devotions, felt himself divinely impelled to visit the renowned church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople. He repaired thither, and amongst other sacred objects beheld a picture of the Virgin and child, with an inscription, stating it to be the work of St. Luke, Chancellor to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and destined to be placed over the high altar of the church dedicated to St. Luke, upon the summit of *Monte della Guardia*. The much-admiring Hermit asked the attendant ecclesiastics, why this sacred portraiture was

in their church, and not in that for which it was painted; he was answered, "Because no one knows where *Monte della Guardia* is." The Hermit undertook to find the place; and the picture was solemnly committed to his charge, to be by him conveyed to its destination. After long and fruitless wanderings in search of the unknown hill, Theocles Kmnia determined to visit Rome, in order to consult the successor of St. Peter as to the means of executing his sacred task. As he traversed the streets of Rome, he attracted the attention of the Bolognese embassador, as the Bolognese narrator entitles the city envoy to the Papal Court, who chanced to be looking out of his window; and his Excellency's curiosity being excited, he sent for the Hermit to inquire what it might be, that so holy a man could be so carefully carrying. The Hermit told his tale, and the Embassador exclaimed "Monte della Guardia overlooks Bologna." He accordingly despatched the reverend picture-carrier, with his hallowed burthen, well escorted, to Bologna; the work of the Evangelist was delivered over to the nuns of a convent situated upon the summit of Monte della Guardia, and its possession secured to them by legal documents; a *procés verbal*, or protocol, of the whole transaction being drawn up, authenticated by the signature of the magistrates then governing the city. A very handsome church was subsequently built there, to contain and do honour to the sacred picture; and since, that no weather may interfere with pilgrimages to its shrine, a covered colonnade, *Italicè loggia*, has been constructed from the town gate, up the hill, to the church, each affluent Bolognese family undertaking a portion of the pious work.

The last circumstance to be noticed relative to this subject, might almost encourage a hope, that, as the century advanced, superstition had slowly diminished. The end of the world not having occurred, as predicted, at the close of the year 1000, had been again fixed for the month of September, 1185, when it was to be preceded by terrific tempests, and the Advent of Antichrist! "But," observes an old Chronicler, "as though to shame the wisdom of man, God then sent especially fine weather."

A word concerning dress, followed by another or two of

kindred nature, may not inaptly conclude this chapter. Although Lewis VII perhaps lost Aquitaine by submitting his curls to clerical shears, in emulation, it may be, of Henry I of England, who, however, guarded himself against ridicule by inducing or compelling his vassals to follow his example; these were but temporary and individual triumphs of the Church, the exceptions, not the rule. If she conquered powerful monarchs, against fashion itself she found herself impotent. She continued to thunder against the long hair of men, the trains of women, the points of shoes turned up to the knee, &c. &c.; and to thunder in vain: alike in vain against such idle follies, as against the idle dangers incurred at tournaments. Equally in vain, did John of Salisbury denounce the indecency of the fashion requiring the silks and satins, which in masculine attire had superseded the woollen garments of Charlemagne, to fit so tightly that a knight in his garb of peace seemed to wear only a second skin; denouncing also the ruinous expense of the materials in which both sexes were clothed. The gorgeousness of festal apparel rivalled the other splendours of the tournaments. The armour and weapons of the tilters shone as dazzlingly with gold and jewellery, as did the brilliant array of fair spectatresses, who anxiously watched the exploits of their favoured servants. A more permanent change was, that each gilded shield now displayed, in lieu of a fanciful emblem, the coat of arms of the bearer.

The concluding points are, that some attention was beginning to be paid to sanitary police regulations, as *e. g.*, Philip Augustus paved Paris, and issued some laws touching cleanliness; examples that were happily, though slowly followed; and the last that even the stern Henry VI kept a Fool or Jester.

CHAPTER VI.

PHILIP—OTHO IV.

State of the Sicilies—Election of Innocent III—His Character—Views—Immediate measures—Death of Constance—Factions in Sicily—In Germany. [1197—1199.

The Duke of Swabia was on his way to Jesi, thence to convey his little nephew to Germany, in order that an immediate coronation might confirm the boy's previous election as King of the Romans, when, at Viterbo, he met the startling intelligence of his imperial brother's death in the very prime of life. He paused to reflect upon the difficulties of his thus altered position, which were not lessened by the accompanying information, that he himself had been appointed, by the deceased Emperor, Imperial Vicar during the minority of Frederic II, in Italy and Sicily, as well as in Germany, where he already held the office. Philip, being invested, as Duke of Tuscany, with a considerable portion of the Matildan dominions, lay, like Henry VI, under sentence of excommunication; and he felt that, unless he renounced the duchy, his brother's gift, papal enmity must greatly impede his measures for his nephew's service. This consideration would strengthen his conviction, that Constance, both as hereditary Queen and as mother of the infant heir, would be better able than himself to conduct the Sicilian regency; whilst he knew his own presence in Germany indispensable, if the allegiance, of which he had so lately and so laboriously obtained the promise, was to be secured to Frederic II. To carry through the immediate coronation of the little King of the Romans, as arranged, would have been most desirable, but to convey so young a child so long a

journey, with the despatch now requisite, and this through Italy, in the actual state of the country, he judged impossible. For the customary re-action upon the removal of a heavy pressure was already apparent. The news of Henry VI's death had produced a sudden outbreak of tumult, sedition, and disorders of every description, all over Italy; the whole population seemed on the brink of insurgency. Philip determined, therefore, to leave the Sicilian kingdom to the widowed Empress, and hasten in person back to Germany, to secure, if possible, the fidelity of the German princes to their recent engagements with himself; but, perforce, deferring the journey and coronation of the infant monarch to a safer opportunity.

The Duke had good reason to rejoice at his determination, when he found even his unincumbered journey thick set with dangers and impediments. He had to make his way by actual force through mutinous rioters, through fierce broils, and, in effecting his passage, lost several of his attendants. He himself, however, got through, and found Germany much in the same state in which he had left central and northern Italy. Immediately after his own departure for the South, a false report of the Emperor's death—the exaggeration most likely of his first seizure—had reached Germany; when the feuds and other disorders, then and there ever consequent upon the absence of a strong controlling hand, had instantly broken out. The falsehood of the report had been discovered, and tranquillity as suddenly restored; but the tidings, being only a little premature, had revived, as truth, reproducing the former consequences. The Duke of Swabia and Tuscany, on his arrival, found not only all his work to do over again, but more work to do; for cabals and factions were already forming for the exclusion of the almost unanimously elected, lineal heir from the succession. Vigorously Philip set himself to his task.

Before the Duke of Swabia and Tuscany had even reached the theatre upon which he was to contend for his nephew's rights, the Empress had secured her own Kingdom to her son. Immediately upon the Emperor's death she had sent for the child from Jesi, where he had hitherto remained in the care of the Duchess of Spoleto; and in

lieu of assuming the crown as hers by inheritance, caused him to be proclaimed King. The government she, however, took upon herself as Regent, in utter, and assuredly justifiable, disregard of Philip's nomination by her deceased consort; but in consonance apparently with the wishes of Philip himself. Her task was not much easier than his. Henry VI's tyranny had provoked, in her Italian and Sicilian subjects, a hatred of Germans so intense as to hamper all her measures. She found herself compelled to chuse between the two nations, and naturally preferred her own compatriot and hereditary subjects. She, therefore, banished the Germans, including the Grand-Seneschal, Markwald von Anweiler, Duke of Ravenna, who thereupon retired to his domains in Romagna. But all the Germans had not duchies to which to retire; and numbers, endeavoured to make good their footing; distracting the Kingdom on both sides the Strait, with insurrection and bloodshed. Constance had, upon the Emperor's death, solicited Celestin III's friendship and support; he required that she should preliminarily acknowledge his sovereignty, to which she had demurred; and a negotiation upon the subject was pending, when a new death complicated both her embarrassment and Philip's.

In little more than three months, the aged Celestin III followed the prematurely cut off Henry VI to the grave, dying upon the 8th of January, 1198, and was succeeded by a pontiff who would have been a fitting antagonist for that able, ambitious, and little scrupulous monarch. Upon the assembling of the Conclave, a majority of voices declared in favour of Cardinal Giovanni di Salerno, whom the deceased Pope had recommended as his successor; but he, declining the arduous honour of the papacy, recommended Cardinal Lotario di SS. Bacco e Sergio, as better suited than himself to be the Spiritual Head of Christendom. Three doves are said to have hovered over the Conclave during its deliberations, one of which, a milk white bird, now settled upon the right hand of the designated candidate for the crown.(299) The double recommendation by a Prince of the Church, and by a bird, the acknowledged emblem of the Holy Ghost, proved irresistible. Cardinal Lotario was unanimously elected,

and, as Pope, received, in honour seemingly of the white dove, the name of Innocent; he was the third, who bore it. The first act of Innocent III was to entreat, by letter, the prayers of all Christian priests, imploring for him, from on High, enlightenment and strength adequate to the arduous duties of the exalted, important, and, above all, responsible office assigned him.

Innocent III, a younger son of the Conte di Segni, had studied scholastic theology and civil law at the most celebrated schools of those sciences, the Universities of Paris and Bologna. He had been much employed in the conduct of the temporal affairs of the Church by his predecessors, Lucius III, Gregory VIII, and his own uncle Clement III, and upon every occasion had been distinguished for diligence, ability, and success. These worldly occupations had not, however, so engrossed his time or thoughts, as to prevent his equally distinguishing himself by writings upon religious and theological subjects, and upon points of canon law. Thus trained and prepared, Innocent assumed the Tiara in the very vigour of manhood; at the age of thirty-seven.

This remarkable Pope has naturally been much compared to his remarkable predecessor, Gregory VII; by some with decided preference, by others with comparative contempt; whilst others, Luden being one, can see no resemblance between these two really master minds. In point of fact, the resemblance may be termed essential, the difference being the fruit of casual, external circumstances acting upon and modifying the original mental conformation of either; and a few words touching this difference may fitly introduce the statement of Innocent's views, which must supply the key to his conduct throughout his pontificate. Commandingly powerful intellect, austere, as submissively uninquiring, piety, pure morality, firm self-reliance, and intense pride, seem to have been common to both. But the pride of the low-born Gregory was fiercely, impetuously aggressive, though capable of bending when expedient, that of the high-born Innocent—besides being probably the least intense of the two—was calm, unbending, supercilious, and conservative. Both were deeply imbued with the great papal objects of establishing the supremacy

of the Pope over all lay sovereigns, and his absolute authority over the Church. The celebrated metaphorical illustration of the relative character and position of the Papal and the Imperial authority, by those of the sun and moon, was Gregory's, developed by Innocent.(300) But even these objects, which to Gregory had been a scheme of real, if not, avowed encroachment, had for Innocent become the maintenance and inforcement of an avowed though contested claim. Even their intellectual cultivation had been different, Gregory's education having been, probably, somewhat limited, and, certainly, completed before the full prevalence of scholasticism.(301) He had passed early from the school or cloister into active life, had felt the evils of indigence, had risen slowly from an inferior condition, and looked at all things in a practical light. He aspired to actual temporal sovereignty over the Emperor, whom, even whilst no doubt revelling in the humiliation of the Emperor Henry IV, he wished to see the Sovereign of all other European Princes, inasmuch as the greater the servant, the greater his master. Innocent, on the contrary, educated to the very highest degree then conceivable, was an erudite Divine, a subtly reasoning, scholastic theologian, whose peculiar views and opinions of the world, and of the papacy, are to be gathered from his writings, in which they are distinctly enunciated; and they have been so gathered and collected with careful diligence, by his admiring and conscientious, if not very eloquent biographer, Hurter—the authority here chiefly relied upon respecting this great Pope.

Innocent's views of the world are characterized, if not by gloomy asceticism, yet by a natural inborn melancholy, tempering pride, and by enthusiasm. Man, physically and morally,—in the origin, structure, and wants of his body, in his desires and pursuits, his love, his ambition, his avarice,—he thoroughly disdained. He took the various sufferings of humanity as so many demonstrations of the worthlessness of life; and he saw, in religion, which, like St. Bernard, he reverently accepted as it presented itself, the sole object deserving a thought.(302) Of the papal office he had conceived a beautifully sublime theory, the main defect of which is its utter impracticability. He

considered the whole mass of mankind as constituting, or designed to constitute, one Church, over which the Pope, as the Vicar of the Redeemer, should preside. It was in this character of the Vicegerent of Christ, appointed to see His divine will executed,(303) rather than as the successor of St. Peter, that Innocent claimed for the Pope superiority to all worldly sovereignty; a superiority, through which the immutable Church and her Head would be a secure anchor to those needing succour, a terror to the wicked, a purifier of temporal sovereignty, a comfort in earth's slavery. The Pope, without an atom of temporal power, was to exercise authority—Innocent always thus distinguishes power from authority—over all monarchs, even as the soul rules the body. With these views, and upon these principles, Innocent required the princes of the earth, not indeed to obey his commands in matters of government, but yet to be swayed by him therein, because the priest, unbiassed by selfish objects, whilst trained by study and holy pursuits, must needs be wiser than the rude warrior; and the Pope, the Vicar of Christ, the best judge of what is good for Christ's flock.

This was Innocent's theory of the papacy; and who shall say that, in days of so much lawless violence and rude ignorance, such a benevolently controlling, spiritual authority, partially supplying the place of public opinion, might not, could it have been exercised as conceived, have acted most beneficially? But, not to speak of his successors, often weak, narrow-minded, or inordinately ambitious or rapacious men, Innocent himself could exercise such awfully immense authority only vicariously, or according to information received from his emissaries; and the course of the narrative will show that, with what anxious care soever he selected both emissaries and spiritual lieutenants, otherwise Legates, they were accessible, if not to corruption, yet some to seduction, and very many to prejudice; few acting up to, or even comprehending, his lofty views; and thus necessarily misleading him. Ay, and yet more, it will finally appear, that even he himself, by aiming at too much, often foiled his own principal object. Innocent strove to mark the difference between the authority he claimed, and temporal power, by

the clerically humble character he gave his Court. He substituted sheepskin for ermine in the furrier's department; wood and glass for gold and silver in the service of his table; and, in the attendance, monks for noble pages, who had formed part of preceding Papal Courts: but, on dismissing these last, he presented each with a sum sufficient to equip him for attaining knighthood. His meals were limited to three dishes; and from this frugal simplicity he deviated only upon great festivals, when noble household officers performed their proper functions, and the Spiritual Head of Christendom appeared in due splendour.

In order to exercise the papal office with such full authority, Innocent felt, that, to be master at home, and possessed of territory sufficient to insure perfect independence, was necessary and this was far from having been his predecessor's position. Clement III had purchased his admission into Rome by signing a convention that nearly annihilated his sovereignty. He afterwards managed, by intrigue and a liberal distribution of money, very considerably to enlarge his power; and, taking advantage of the known instability of the modern Romans, he seized the opportunity, when they were momentarily angry at the Senate, to persuade them to substitute a more pliable single Senator for that body; which he pensioned off, and thus freed himself from a really controlling magistracy. This increased power Celestin III had suffered to be gradually pilfered away by the governed, and the government really to be varied and modified at their discretion. Since 1191, Rome had been nominally ruled, like other Italian cities, by a Podestà, though called a Senator. This Senator was always a stranger to the city: but, in lieu of being papally appointed, was elected for a year or more; and, at the expiration of his term, re-elected, or superseded, and even imprisoned, as was Benedetto Carasomi, at the popular pleasure; whilst the Imperial Prefect tried to conceal his own nullity by concurring with, in lieu of opposing, all these proceedings.

Innocent's first measures were directed towards remedying this state of public affairs. Circumstances, of which he ably took advantage, favoured him. And, if his mea-

sures were not always consonant to the expectations that might be entertained from so really high a character, it must again be recollected that popes, as well as emperors and kings, are to be measured by a mediæval standard, not by the opinions of the 19th century; and that Innocent must have felt, yet more vividly in respect to the Papacy, than Frederic did in respect to the Empire, the preservation of its every right as his supreme duty, the duty being, not to his successors, but to Christendom.

The consecration and enthronement of a pope was ordinarily accompanied by a distribution of money. The treasure that Innocent found accumulated by Celestin, combined with his own simple and abstemious habits, enabled him to make this distribution ample, beyond all expectation. Hence, although by another act of unusual liberality he ordered that the Jews, who, according to custom, as part of the ceremonial, had presented him with their Book of the Law, should be included in the official distribution, the amount of the gifts received, won him, for the moment at least, all hearts. The whole population of Rome swore fealty to him, and, in this ebullition of loyalty, he obtained the acknowledgment of the papal claim to appoint the Senator. He immediately deposed the popularly elected Senator, then holding the chief magistracy in the Eternal City, substituting for him a Senator of his own choice. Innocent next sent for the Imperial Prefect, granted him a dispensation from his oath of allegiance to the Emperor—fortunately for the Pope there was no emperor at the moment—and alternately exhorted, admonished, persuaded, and threatened, until he prevailed upon him to renounce that allegiance, transferring it to himself, as supreme over all sovereigns. He then regulated the several administrative duties of these papal officers, reserving to himself the judicial decision of important causes and appeals, temporal as well as spiritual, which to receive, investigate, and judge, he three times every week presided in the consistory.

Secure at Rome, Innocent turned his thoughts to the domains claimed by the Holy See, and, as imperial fiefs, granted by Henry VI to his German followers. The principal of these grantees were the Dukes of Ravenna

and Spoleto, the possessions of the former extending well-nigh to the gates of Rome. To him Innocent despatched two Cardinals, to demand in his name the immediate restitution of the property of the Church, usurpingly seized and bestowed upon him, by the late Emperor. Markwald, cunning as he was bold, endeavoured to elude the demand, and gain time; looking probably to assistance from the Duke of Swabia and Tuscany, when that Prince should be in full and undisputed possession of power as Regent; perhaps from the Empress also, who, though no German, must feel it desirable to support a vassal of her son's, against the *ex-officio* enemy of his family and of all hereditary claims. But Innocent was not a sovereign, temporal or spiritual, to be trifled with. He excommunicated Markwald, released his vassals from their oath of fealty, and without much difficulty prevailed upon them, noble vassals and townsmen alike, to prefer the proverbially easy yoke of the Church, to that of a rude, oppressive, and extortionate foreigner. Deserted by all, the ex-Duke of Ravenna returned to his Apulian county of Molise, of which, or of his office of Grand-Seneschal, Constance had not attempted to deprive him; and now, despoiled of his duchy, he saw in the Sicilian kingdom his best chance of fishing in troubled waters. The Duke of Spoleto, taking a different course, strove to retain his duchy by professing the most entire submission to the Holy Father's commands, and his willingness to hold it of the Pope instead of the Emperor. But Innocent, who, as though imbued with the modern passion for exclusive nationalities, would have no German vassals, scared him away from Spoleto and across the Alps.

The new Pontiff, having thus recovered one portion of the Matildan dominions, turned his thoughts towards the principal part which has given its name to the whole, Tuscany. As a first step towards wresting it from Duke Philip, he excited the Tuscan towns to emulate those of Lombardy, assert their independence, and form a League for mutual defence, under Papal protection; further pledging themselves never to acknowledge any Emperor not approved by the Pope.

Not less resolutely than over Ravenna and Spoleto did

the Pope assert the Papal suzerainty over the Sicilian kingdom. He required from Constance, as had Celestin, the acknowledgment of this suzerainty, and immediate attendance to do homage in person, or a solemn pledge so to do it for herself and her son at the earliest convenient opportunity; he required further the renunciation of the legatine authority conferred by the original investiture, the reception of a legate appointed by him in proof of such renunciation, and the additional renunciation of the extraordinarily liberal subsequent concessions, touching ecclesiastical nominations; all this he required as the price of his sanction of her son's accession. Constance was very reluctant to transmit her ancestral crown to her son, denuded of any of its proud prerogatives; but her position was embarrassing, and she attempted a compromise. She now frankly acknowledged the suzerainty, and negotiated as to the rest. In the month of May, pending the negotiation, she had her child, the infant Frederic Roger, crowned, and most of the great vassals swore allegiance to him. This was a material point gained: nevertheless she still felt the Pope's sanction and support indispensable to a safe and prosperous regency; and, in the end, she agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 1000 gold pieces, to do homage in person, with her son, taking the oath of allegiance, and to make the renunciations required. The triumphant Pope sent her, for her son, the investiture with her own birthright.

Constance did not live to see the result of her concessions, dying the 27th of November of this same year 1198; and although she was only in the forty-third year of her age, wonderful to say, in her case no suspicion of poison occurs. By her will, she appointed Innocent Guardian to her son and Regent of his kingdom; partly, it may be supposed, to avert his assumption of both offices as Lord Paramount, and partly from the same sense of difficulties, which his hostility must render inextricable, that had induced her submission to demands so revolting to her queenly spirit. She named the Archbishops of Palermo, Capua, and Monreale, and Gualtiero della Pugliera, Bishop of Troja, then Grand-Chancellor, a Council of Regency under the Pope, committing to them

the care of the infant King's person and education. Innocent accepted the trust, or rather left it doubtful whether he did so, or assumed the authority as Lord Paramount, not admitting the Empress-Queen's right to give it. And upon this occasion he declared, that when the Vicar of the Redeemer of mankind and the Holy Roman Church undertook the parental office, every earthly loss was more than compensated. He discharged his duties as guardian and regent faithfully, and as zealously as might be compatible with his multifarious important avocations, and his constant absence from the realms he had to govern. For his royal ward he really seems to have conceived a sincere regard, and for his education he sedulously provided. He selected for him the ablest instructors to be procured, and he appointed a conscientious superintendant of their proceedings in Cardinal Cencio, afterwards Pope Honorius III.

In this posture of affairs ambition extinguished in Markwald every sentiment of attachment, or fidelity to the grandchild of the warrior Emperor, who first distinguished him, and whose death he had wept amidst a weeping host of Crusaders; the only child, moreover, of the Imperial giver of his lost duchy and retained county. He appears to have now projected the appropriation of the infant heir's southern kingdom, though his first attempt was only upon the regency. He produced a document, which he asserted to be the duly signed and witnessed will of the deceased Emperor, Henry VI, appointing Markwald Duke of Ravenna, Regent of the Sicilies and Guardian of the minor King—in which appointment the Duke of Swabia and Tuscany had, he asserted, concurred—and further ordering the restitution of the Matildan heritage to the Pope, for whom the testator professed the profoundest veneration. This will, genuine or forged,(304) Markwald exhibited to the Germans in Sicily and Apulia, who, despite all internal evidence of forgery, influenced probably by compatriot feelings, professed their belief in the genuineness of this testamentary paper, as really Henry VI's, and supported their countryman, Markwald's cause as their own. He now communicated it likewise to the Pope, soliciting

His Holiness's sanction of the appointment, and promising all submission to his supreme sovereignty. But Innocent at once pronounced the will spurious, and rejected Markwald's pretensions. The ex-Duke, thus disappointed, varied his plan of operations. Letting the will drop, he now declared the already acknowledged and crowned Frederic Roger, a supposititious child, purchased by the deceased Empress of a miller or other person of mean condition; and, as a lapsed fief, he solicited of the Pope, the kingdom, for himself, offering in return 20,000 ounces of gold down upon the nail, and as much more when he should be master of Palermo, with double the annual tribute that Constance had covenanted to pay. These offers Innocent repulsed as execrable, refusing even to relieve Markwald from the excommunication under which he lay, save upon his entire and unconditional submission. Even whilst carrying on these negotiations with the Pope, Markwald had been intriguing at Palermo, to wrest the person of the infant King and the authority attached to its possession, from the Council to which the dying Empress had committed him. He had been intriguing at the same time with the Sicilian Saracens, naturally opposed to papal sovereignty, as likely to be intolerant of their religion. In the first of these attempts he failed, but so far succeeded in the last, that the Saracens concluded an alliance with him against the sovereignty of the Pope. This done, and unwillingly convinced that Innocent was not to be bribed, Markwald again changed his plan; he abandoned the idea of rejecting Frederic Roger as a supposititious child, which was not likely to take with the Germans; resumed his claim to the regency upon Henry VI's supposed will; and actually sought assistance from the Duke of Swabia and Tuscany, upon the plea that, for supporting *his* right to the regency was he persecuted. He now left the care of raising a rebellion in Sicily to the Mohammedans, and returned to Apulia, where he began the civil war at the head of the Germans.

The kingdom was still distracted by three parties, contending for possession of the royal child's person—which, enabling the possessor to act in the royal name, seemed to convey more real power than any appointment as regent

could give—and by two other parties, yet more rebellious, attacking them. The Pope, occupied with the affairs of all Christendom, as well as with securing his authority over the papal dominions, could, of course, execute his office of Regent of the Sicilies only through the legates, whom he sent thither to act as his deputies; and they often displayed more zeal to augment his power, than wisdom or discretion, even if they are to be acquitted of worse faults. They early offended the prelates whom Constance had selected for the guardians of her son's person, by demanding from them an oath of allegiance to the Papal See, and endeavouring to remove the little monarch from their custody. The Grand-Chancellor and his colleagues, exasperated by this attempt, retaliated by striving to assume the government wholly to themselves, as the Council of Regency; whilst Markwald accused the Grand-Chancellor of designing to place Frederic's crown upon the head of his own brother, the Conte di Monopello, and the Grand-Chancellor, with more apparent grounds, Markwald, of designing to usurp it himself. Two of these factions, the German and that of the Sicilian prelates, either alternately tore the royal child and the government from each other, or again, holding different towns and forts, ruled simultaneously over different provinces; and again, alternately submitted, when defeated, to the Pope, in order, through an easily duped Legate, to use his authority against a more hated adversary. Whilst the Papal party disowned the authority of both the others; and the Saracens joined either Markwald or the prelates against the Pope, or carried on a guerilla warfare against all three, ravaging and plundering the whole island. To the Baronage, both insular and continental, this state of anarchy seemed to offer another opportunity, too favourable to be neglected, of breaking the rod of iron of the early Norman kings, which, half broken in the hands of William II and Tancred, had in Henry VI's grasp, if not controlled, at least cruelly annoyed them; nor were they neglectful. And as if these broils and civil wars were insufficient to ruin any kingdom, the Genoese and Pisans at Syracuse were fighting for possession of that city, one of those alleged to be promised them by Henry VI. This state of things lasted

for some years well nigh uninterruptedly, creating confusion and disorders indescribable. Farmers of tolls and receivers of taxes refused to pay rent, or cash in hand, to any party, upon the plea of not knowing to whom it was justly due; and all the contending parties were driven to raising money by violent means. Loans were extorted from merchants, from municipalities, even from churches; grants of land, fiefs, mills, privileges of butchery, and the like, were recklessly sold, or given as bribes, by the contending factions; and only the Pope had the moderation to limit his remunerative grants, his mortgages of tolls, &c.—his sanction was indispensable to such acts of his legates—to the duration of his own regency, submitting their further continuance to the pleasure of the young King, when of age.

Germany, meanwhile, was in a condition somewhat similar to that of Sicily and Apulia, though so far better off as to be a prey to two only, instead of a complication of factions. The Duke of Swabia and Tuscany, upon his arrival, made the most vigorous exertions on behalf of his nephew. That nephew's election he treated as a complete and irrevocable fact; wherefore, instead of desiring the Archbishop of Mainz, or his substitute during his crusade, to summon an Electoral Diet, he simply convoked an ordinary Imperial Diet, to renew the oath of allegiance to the acknowledged sovereign, to fix a time for his coronation, making all requisite preliminary arrangements; and, further, to confirm the regency to himself during the monarch's nonage, according to the deceased Emperor's appointment. But the professions and promises of co-operation that he had so recently obtained from the ambitious and restless Adolf von Altenau, the new Archbishop of Cologne, "made themselves air" when the pressure that had extorted them was taken off. That the see of Cologne owed an immense accession of territory to Frederic Barbarossa proved no tie upon the prelate's gratitude. He had feared Henry VI, and promised to crown his infant son; he saw nothing to fear in the royal boy's young and nearly untried uncle, the Duke of Swabia and Tuscany; and, without actually revoking or denying his promise, he

alleged that the Emperor's death, wholly altering the posture of affairs, rendered an Electoral Diet indispensable, the convoking of which, in the absence of the Archbishop of Mainz, in command of the crusade, devolved upon himself and the Archbishop of Treves conjointly. The concurrence of this prelate he is said to have purchased, at the price of not less than 4000 marks; and, in their joint names, a Diet was summoned to meet at Cologne, not Frankfurt, upon the 1st of March, 1198, for the purpose of electing a sovereign.

Upon the 1st of March, the two Archbishops opened their Electoral Diet, and were unpleasantly surprised by the very small number of the Estates of the Empire, even of the spiritual Estates, present. But, how much soever disappointed as to the support upon which they had calculated, they did not relinquish their hope of now wrenching the sceptre from the Swabian dynasty of Emperors, and proceeded to look out for a competitor who might be successfully opposed to the already elected infant King of the Romans. The Welfs no longer appearing strong enough for this purpose, their choice fell upon Bertold, the opulent and powerful Duke of Zäringen, who had so lately been in arms against the young claimant's deceased father. Him they invited to come forward, as a candidate for the vacant throne, with assurances of almost certain success; and, whilst awaiting his grateful acceptance of the proposal,—the Duke had not obeyed their summons to the Diet,—they hoped to see the numbers of the assembly increase.

But Philip, if disappointed, had not been daunted, by the opposition of the two mighty Archbishops, and was even then holding the Diet he had previously summoned at Arnstadt, or Erfurt, in Thuringia—for his Diet, not being electoral, might be held wherever convenience dictated, and appears to have moved from place to place in Saxony, so as to render it difficult accurately to mark the locality of every transaction. But, wherever it were, around Philip were gathered all the adherents of his family, all the princes who felt gratitude to Frederic I or Henry VI for fiefs granted them; all who respected their plighted word. Upon this numerous assemblage of

the Estates of the Empire, Philip was even then calling to take anew the oath of allegiance to his nephew, as Frederic II, and to confirm his own nomination as Vicar of the Empire. But to his demand even this Ghibeline Diet hesitated to accede. They remonstrated that the child had been elected in reliance upon the prolonged life of a father, then in the very prime of manhood, at least until the son should have attained to years of discretion; that the Emperor's untimely death in frustrating this expectation, really annulled the election by rendering it nugatory as to its object, namely, the providing the Empire with an efficient Head. Hence they inferred that Philip himself, as the only surviving son of Frederic Barbarossa,(305) was now the only person who could, as the representative of his family, be seated on the throne. Philip, virulently as he has been accused by Guelph writers of selfish ambition, of usurpation, and of treachery to the nephew committed by a dying brother to his care, appears to have honestly and resolutely opposed these arguments, pledging himself to exert, as Regent for that nephew, all the zeal and energy expected from him as Emperor. It was not until he was convinced of the absolute hopelessness of his efforts to obtain the recognition of the lawful heir, that, at last yielding, he accepted the proffered suffrages for himself. Upon the 6th of March, 1198, Philip was elected and proclaimed King, by the Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Austria, the Margraves of the northern, eastern, and southern Marches, the Archbishops of Salzburg, Magdeburg, and Bremen, and several princes, bishops, and immediate nobles of inferior dignity. The Duke of Bohemia does not appear to have been present; but more faithful to his word, at least to its spirit as modified by his brother princes, than their reverend graces of Cologne and Treves, he instantly acknowledged Philip as King, and received from him, according to his promise, the royal title hereditarily conferred.

The two Archbishops, having by this time learned how much more numerous than their own was Philip's Diet, despatched the Bishop of Munster to the anti-diet, as they deemed it, to warn the princes there assembled, against proceeding to an election which, through the absence of

themselves, the principal ecclesiastical electors, must be irregular, and therefore, as illegal, void. He was likewise commissioned to invite them to a meeting at which all might deliberate in common upon their common interests. The Bishop found the election over, and returned with the tidings to Cologne. The Archbishops and their party were indignant; they pronounced the election void, as well from the absence of the three Prince-Archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, as because no Electoral Diet had ever sat in Saxony; and they sent to press their previous proposal upon the Duke of Zäringen, who had not as yet returned any answer. Bertold had now apparently made up his mind; he accepted the offered crown; bound himself by oath to appear at Cologne, at the head of an army of Zäringen vassals and allies, upon an appointed day; gave two nephews, the youthful Earls of Urach, as hostages for his keeping his oath; and paid down the sum of 6000 marks of silver to defray past or future expenses.

But Bertold's ambition, it has been seen, was of a cautious rather than an enterprising character, and at least equalled by his economy. He quickly took alarm at the number of princes who had acknowledged Philip; and he shrank from seeing his dominions, so flourishing under his judicious policy, again devastated by civil war. He did not appear at Cologne upon the appointed day: and finally, accepting from Philip a sum of 11,000 marks, as compensation for his expenses and pretensions, acknowledged the election of his successful rival as valid, and did homage to him for his duchy. It is added, that the frugal Duke, after irritating those whose hopes he had excited but to disappoint them by rejecting their offers, exasperated them further by the insulting message, that he desired not a purchased crown, and finally neglected to redeem his hostage nephews. They not only had to pay their own ransom, but were constrained by the angry prelates to swear to take the cowl. They kept their oath, and rose high in the church, Earl Conrad becoming a Cardinal.

The Archbishops, not disheartened by the failure of their first candidate for the Empire, sought for a substitute. They invited the Duke of Saxony to join them,

with assurances that upon so doing he should be elected. Duke Bernard was a prudent elderly man, who, even had he been less attached by gratitude, inclination, and interest to the race of the Emperor from whom he had received his duchy, had he not just concurred in electing, just done homage and sworn allegiance to, the son of his benefactor, would hardly have risked his still contested duchy by grasping at a crown. Unhesitatingly as positively, he rejected the invitation and the offers of the Cologne Diet.

Whilst these negotiations were in progress Philip's position was daily improving. More Estates of the Empire, with many towns, successively acknowledged him, and hopes of his recognition, even by the Pope, arose. The Bishop of Sutri, a German by birth, crossed the Alps as Papal Legate, bearing letters from the Holy Father to the German prelates, charging them to obtain from the Diet and the Duke of Swabia—the Pope did not admit Philip's right to his Tuscan duchy—the freedom of the Archbishop of Salerno, of Tancred's family, and of the other Sicilian prisoners of Henry VI. The Bishop had a separate commission to the Duke of Swabia; he was empowered to exempt him from the necessity of repairing to Rome, not only in person to solicit relief from the sentence of excommunication under which he lay, but even to take off the sentence, so soon as the captive Sicilian prelate should be at liberty, and Philip should have solemnly sworn to obey the Pope in all those points, disobedience in which had incurred the doom—an engagement evidently importing the surrender of the Matildan heritage. The family of Tancred, Philip had already released, in compliance with the earnest entreaties of his sister-in-law, the widowed Empress, in behalf of those so nearly allied to her, supported by the influence of his wife Irene, daughter in-law and sister-in-law to the captive Queen and Princesses. Upon their liberation they had retired to France, where the daughters married. The ex-King William is not mentioned upon the occasion, whence it is generally inferred that he had died at an early period of his captivity, unless by such as believed the tale reporting him to have vanished into an Alpine hermitage. His disappearance in one way or another from the scene, is confirmed by the claim to the principality of Tarento and

the county of Lecce, which was soon afterwards advanced in the name of his eldest sister Albina, as his heir, by her husband the Comte de Brienne.

The portion of the Legate's commission relating to Tancred's family was therefore forestalled. To negotiate touching the remainder, Philip met him at Worms, and at once promised to dismiss all the remaining Sicilian prisoners. So much did Philip, by his virtues and amiable disposition, gain upon the Legate at this interview, that, exceeding certainly the letter, though not, as he might presume, the spirit of his instructions, upon receiving this promise, without awaiting its fulfilment, he at once relieved the new monarch from excommunication, readmitting him into the bosom of the Church. Philip immediately released the eyeless Archbishop, and gradually the other prisoners, enjoining them all to present themselves to Innocent, in proof of his obedience. But the liberated captives thought more of one brother's harshness than of the other's clemency; and throughout Italy endeavoured, by the exhibition of their blindness and mutilations, to excite compatriot hatred against the family of Henry VI. Whether the Legate exacted, and, if he exacted, whether he received from Philip, any specific promise of obedience beyond the customary *subjectionem debitam*, is another of the many disputed questions in the history of this period.

Philip flattered himself that the revocation of his excommunication, joined to his adversaries' second disappointment in an opposition candidate, would produce a general peaceable acknowledgment of his election. He therefore abstained from hostilities; and though he caused Achen to be garrisoned for him by Prince Walram, son of the Duke of Limburg, he made no attempt to proceed thither for his coronation, waiting probably till the Archbishop of Cologne should, as he hoped, be disposed to officiate. This hope bid fair, as it seemed, to be realized, when the Archbishop of Treves, weary of unsuccessful manœuvres, withdrew from the adverse faction; he did not, however, acknowledge Philip, merely remaining neutral.

But not so was Adolf of Cologne to be turned from his purpose. When he found that no really powerful German prince would stand forward against Philip, he listened to

the proposals of Richard of England, in behalf of his favourite nephew, Otho of Brunswick, who, having been one of the hostages for his ransom, had upon his liberation hurried over to the English Court, and been invested with the duchies of York and Aquitaine, and the county of Poitou. The Archbishop now seems to have felt that his last chance of success against the representative of the Swabian dynasty, was to oppose him with a Welf; reduced as that family then was from its pristine preponderance. Palsgrave Henry, who would have been preferable as the elder brother, the most powerful prince, and a tried warrior, and through his marriage with Frederic Barbarossa's niece, less repugnant to the Ghibelines, was absent upon the Crusade. The impatient prelate therefore accepted the younger brother, who had scarcely completed his twentieth year, praying King Richard to support them at the election with his presence; whether as a member of the Empire, in his character of vassal King of the Arelat, or having made himself such in that of King of England, by pleading in vindication of his conduct before the Diet, or simply as a powerful foreign friend of the candidate, is not clear. But the lion-hearted monarch's reminiscences of Germany were the reverse of agreeable; and he judged it sufficient to send his nephew, accompanied by embassadors well supplied with money, to assist the Archbishop's operations. Even thus reinforced, Adolf gained very few partisans east of the Rhine, but was more successful amongst the Lotharingians upon the left bank. The Duke of Brabant, in some measure the representative of the once potent Dukes of undivided Lorrain, and, at all events, the chief of the Lotharingian princes, was won by Otho's affiancing himself prospectively to his daughter, Maria; the Earl of Flanders, next in consequence, was personally attached to the royal Crusader; and even the Duke of Limburg, whose son was then Governor of Achen for Philip, repaired to Archbishop Adolf's Diet, to vote for Otho. At Cologne, this young Welf Prince was elected and proclaimed King; the Cologne Metropolitan being the only prince present, whose right of suffrage was indisputable, whose principality was finally and permanently established as an electorate. From Cologne, Otho, whom English money had provided with

an army, hastened to besiege Achen, in order to compensate, by the perfect regularity of his coronation, the irregularity of his election.

Philip now saw that he must needs oppose force to force, and he assembled an army to relieve Achen. Ottocar of Bohemia brought his Czech troops to his support; and Philip Augustus of France, alarmed at the immense accession of power that his abhorred rival and vassal, King Richard, must derive from the possession of the Empire by a nephew, and of the Arelat by himself, eagerly concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with his namesake of Germany. Thus strengthened, the Swabian Philip led his army with all convenient speed down the Rhine to relieve Achen, that, when it should be relieved, he might there receive the crown; but whilst he was upon the march, Prince Walram, influenced by his father, and by Otho's lavish gifts or promises, surrendered the important city intrusted to him. Otho being now in possession of the ancient seat of the Carlovingian empire, was crowned by the Archbishop of Cologne in Charlemagne's cathedral. Perfectly regular, nevertheless, his coronation was not; the proper *regalia* being in Philip's hands, his crown, sceptre, &c., were merely substitutes provided for the occasion.

Philip, finding himself thus foiled in his principal object, desisted from his expedition into Lower Lorrain, and determined to solemnize his own coronation. He had hitherto delayed the ceremony, in the hope of inducing Archbishop Adolf to perform his proper office; but now felt it could no longer be postponed without ceding an advantage to his rival; and, treachery having closed its established theatre against him, he resolved that the celebration should take place in that, which, except as the scene of coronation, ranked highest of all in public veneration as the metropolitan church of Germany, the Mainz Cathedral. The Archbishop being still absent upon his crusade, Philip tried to prevail upon the Archbishop of Treves to officiate; but this prelate, although he had refused to take any part in electing or crowning Otho, would not so far commit himself against his former confederate as actually to place the crown upon the head of the

Swabian Prince. Why one of the other German prince-archbishops, who had concurred in electing Philip, did not undertake the office of the refractory Cologner, is not stated; but it may possibly have been thought, either that the usurpation of his functions by one of them would yet more exasperate the mighty spiritual prince, whom it was so desirable to conciliate; or that it was desirable thus to implicate one yet a stranger to the transaction. Whatever the motive, the Archbishop of Tarentaise, in Savoy, a princely prelate of the Empire, though hardly one of the chief of the class, was chosen as his substitute; and, in the Mainz Cathedral, in the presence of almost all the German Princes, spiritual and temporal, east of the Rhine, and of the Bishop of Sutri, Papal Legate, he placed upon Philip's head the genuine crown of his ancestors and predecessors.

The rival Kings now waged war on each other, with little result beyond inflicting great sufferings upon the subjects they desired to govern. Philip, indeed, endeavoured by rigorously punishing every act of violence to repress the licentiousness of his army. For instance, whilst he was besieging Andernach, a town that had declared for Otho, some of his troops broke into a nunnery of that vicinity, plundered it, outraged the nuns, and stripping one of them of all clothing, smeared her with honey, rolled her in feathers, seated her backwards upon an ass, and thus, amidst the grossest insults, paraded her about the camp. Philip ordered the offenders to be drowned in boiling water. His strict administration of justice, his protection of the weak against the strong, against even his own partisans, is said to have gained many to his side; but this gain was heavily counterbalanced by the defection of the potent supporter upon whom he had hoped he might rely.

Innocent III had not, indeed, declared himself for either King, both of whom he deemed irregularly elected; whilst he held himself, unless appealed to by one of the parties, not authorized to interfere in a matter so purely temporal, until a demand to be crowned Emperor, should make it his duty to satisfy himself that the applicant for the Imperial crown was the duly elected monarch.

entitled to receive it. But his bias was evidently against Philip, on account partly of that prince's claim, as Duke of Tuscany, to the Matildan dominions; partly of the protection, however trifling, which Markwald's misrepresentations had obtained from Philip[306]—though that was little more than a prayer to the Holy Father for justice to him—and partly of his alliance with Philip Augustus; who, in contempt of Celestin's injunctions, not only refused to live with Ingeborg as his wife, but had publicly married the beautiful Agnes von Andechs, daughter of the Duke of Meran; and resisted even his, Innocent's, threat of laying the kingdom under an interdict. But most of all, perhaps, was he strongly, if unconsciously, influenced by the desire almost instinctive in the papacy, to prevent hereditary succession in the Empire. He taxed the Bishop of Sutri with having, through partiality, transgressed his instructions; and recalling, degraded and imprisoned him in an island monastery. He pronounced Philip to be still under excommunication, inasmuch as the revocation of the sentence, being contrary to his will and commands, was unlawful and invalid. And he courteously received, and answered, an address from King Richard, Otho, and Otho's German and Lombard partisans, at the head of which last stood Milan. But, however courteous, the Pope's answer was nothing more; it expressed good-will towards Richard's nephew, but did not recognise him as King. No trifling proof of Innocent's desire to act fairly between the parties, when all the anti-Philip influences, and the Pope's high value for the lion-hearted champion of the Cross, are considered.

CHAPTER VII.

PHILIP—OTHO IV.

Negotiations touching the Double Election—Innocent's Decision—Civil War in Germany—Fluctuations of Success—Change in Innocent's Views—New Negotiations—Murder of Philip. [1199—1208.

The return of the Crusaders from Palestine brought pretty nearly equal advantages to both of the parties then distracting Germany. If Otho was powerfully reinforced by the arrival of his brother the Rhine-Palsgrave, Philip was scarcely less so by the return of his cousin-german, Hermann Landgrave of Thuringia, and of the Ghibeline Archbishop of Mainz, Conrad of Wittelsbach. This prelate, visiting the Papal Court upon his road home, was commissioned by Innocent to strain every nerve to persuade the two irregularly elected monarchs to resign; if successful in this arduous task, he was to conduct a new election, taking care that the name of the prince so chosen should be submitted to his, Innocent's, approbation prior to his being generally acknowledged. Should he find this radical cure for the existing disorders impossible, he was to endeavour to prevail upon one of them to abdicate in favour of the other; and, should it prove impracticable, to obtain either a double or a single abdication, he was to inquire into the circumstances of the double election of Philip and Otho, and address a report thereupon to the Pope, for the guidance of his judgment. Marquess Boniface of Montferrat, brother to Conrad of Tyre and Jerusalem, appears to have been joined with the Archbishop in this commission.

The prelate, aided by the Marquess, exerted himself earnestly and diligently to prevail upon both rivals to re-

sign, in order that a new election, conducted according to all the forms of law and custom, might put an end to the civil war. Failing in an attempt so unlikely to succeed, he seems to have thought more of the interest of Germany than of the Pope's directions. He endeavoured to negotiate a five years' truce, during which the princes of the opposite factions should meet, deliberate in common, and so decide which of the two irregularly elected kings had most claim to be considered as the lawful sovereign of the country. He could obtain a truce but for a fifth of the time proposed, one year, and even that imperfectly, the Saxons refusing to be bound by any such convention. The Archbishop-Arch-Chancellor nevertheless summoned a Diet to meet at Boppart, upon the Rhine, during this year of greater tranquillity, to consider the question; but he did not make the report enjoined him to Innocent; which he felt would, in fact, be to submit the question, and with it the rights of free Germany, to the Pope. The competitors for the empire, being more personally interested in the results, were less independent in their proceedings than the prelate. Both applied to Innocent, severally soliciting his support at Boppart. Otho and his party, in letters signed by one king (of England), two prince-archbishops, one duke, three prince-bishops, and divers earls, abbots, and nobles, asserted the regularity of his election and coronation, and promised all concessions that could be required. Philip and his party, on the other hand, urged the all but unanimity with which he had been elected, merely promised, according to the usual oath, to respect and protect all the rights of the church; and ended by asking for the Imperial Crown, to receive which he would as early as possible visit Rome. But his missives bore the signatures of one king (of Bohemia), five prince-archbishops, seven dukes, five margraves, twenty-one prince-bishops, besides palsgraves, earls, abbots, and nobles of inferior rank.

Again Innocent returned answers, so far vague, as that he recognised not the right of either claimant to the crown; but the pretension of the Diet, summoned by the Archbishop of Mainz, to decide between them, he utterly denied. If the Princes of the Empire could not save their country

from the evils of a double election, and the two competitors would not, by abdicating, put an end to those evils, then with the Vicar of Christ upon earth, who had already transferred Empire from the East to the West, and with him alone must it rest to interpose his authoritative decision.

Both Kings were disappointed at these answers, and neither attended at the Boppart Diet, whence several of the chief princes likewise absented themselves, as though feeling its proceedings invalidated beforehand. The assembly separated without pronouncing any decision; the subsequent endeavours of the reverend mediator proved equally fruitless, and civil war again raged in Germany.

Archbishop Conrad, despairing for the moment of effecting a reconciliation amongst his countrymen, proceeded to execute a second commission with which the Pope had charged him. It was, to visit Hungary, where, if a worse civil war between two brothers, Emmeric and Andreas, for the crown of their deceased father, Bela III, no longer raged, the reconciliation on the part of the younger appeared to be so imperfect and reluctant, as to induce apprehension that a renewal of this fraternal conflict might impede the passage of the Crusade, which Innocent was labouring to raise, organize, and despatch to the relief of the Holy Land. The Archbishop's mission was to wring from the conscience of the refractory younger, Andreas, a frank submission to the lawful sovereignty of the elder, Emmeric; and so well did the good prelate succeed, that both brothers received the cross from his hand, solemnly pledging themselves to join the crusading army upon its passage through Hungary, and to commit the government of the kingdom, during their joint absence, to their kinsman and neighbour, the Duke of Austria. Pleased with this success, the Archbishop hastily left Hungary for Mainz, where, independently of his anxiety to resume his negotiations with the rival Kings during the continuance of the truce, his presence was much wanted. But, visiting the Duke of Austria in his way back, he incautiously disturbed the plan he had so happily arranged by persuading that prince likewise to assume the cross, instead of remaining at home as guardian of Hungary. Soon after taking leave of the Duke, Archbishop Conrad

was seized with a malady that detained him at Passau; and there he died. His death was speedily followed by renewed hostilities betwixt the Hungarian brother rivals for the crown of Hungary.

As might be anticipated under the circumstances, a double election ensued at Mainz. Philip was then residing in the city, and in his presence, of course somewhat under his influence, the Chapter elected Leopold von Schönfels, Bishop of Worms, a faithful adherent of the Imperial family, who had accompanied Henry VI through all his Italian and Sicilian expeditions. Philip immediately invested the translated Archbishop-elect with the temporalities, and installed him in his archiepiscopal see. Some three or four partisans of Otho's, amongst the Canons, refused to concur in this election; and, withdrawing to Bingen, there elected Siegfrid, Provost of St. Peter's at Mainz. The Guelph Archbishop-elect hastened to Otho, who similarly invested him with the temporalities, but, Mainz being Philip's, could not instal him in the see.

This schism in the German Church, combined with the irrepressible civil war, convinced Innocent of the absolute necessity of placing a generally acknowledged sovereign upon the German throne. He now, therefore, pronounced in favour of the competitor to whom he had always been inclined, drawing up a long statement of the reasons upon which his decision was founded. And this paper he sent to Germany, by legates who were also charged with separate, monitory epistles, addressed to various Princes of the Empire, spiritual and temporal. Innocent, who evidently prided himself upon his skill as a dialectician and a writer, was a somewhat prolix reasoner; and to translate this Deliberatio Domini Papæ Innocentii, or even one of the several abstracts thereof, made by divers German historians, would severely tax the patience of English reader or English writer. But, the document being valuable, as illustrative of the opinions and feelings characterizing the age, even in one of its master minds, a summary, as condensed as may be consistent with the object in view, will hardly be unacceptable.

In this paper, drawn up in the name of the Father,

Son, and Holy Ghost, the Pope first proves—by references to the Old Testament, by argument, and by the self-evident superiority of him who gives over him who receives, of him who anoints and crowns over him who is anointed and crowned—the supremacy of the spiritual over all temporal authority. The Papal right to select the sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire thus established, he proceeds to exercise it. He regrets the triple election of his own ward, Frederic, of Philip, and of Otho, but, the evil having occurred, each claimant must be tested by the criterion of what is allowable, what is seemly, and what is expedient. —To begin with Frederic King of Sicily. He was freely elected; homage was generally done to him, the oath of allegiance to him was unanimously taken; and he is the ward of the Holy Church, whose part it therefore is to maintain him in all his rights, not, by despoiling him of any, to incur his enmity in lieu of his gratitude, when he shall be of man's estate. Nevertheless it is allowable, seemly, and expedient to reject Frederic's election. The Princes had elected and sworn allegiance to a person incapable of Empire; a two-year-old infant, not yet received by baptism into the Church; and they had done so trusting that the father would live and govern at least till the son's majority. The Emperor's premature death, by annulling these expectations, had annulled the election and the oath. If the Princes thought to govern the Empire by the substituted authority of a regent, the Church required an actual efficient Emperor for her protection. It was no part of a guardian's duty to maintain a ward in unlawful rights; and, if Frederic's were lawful, the Church did not despoil him of them. It was his maternal inheritance, the Sicilian realm, that she had undertaken to preserve for him, and this engagement she would fulfil: if he were entitled to the Empire, his uncle, the Duke of Swabia, was the person who robbed him of it.

Secondly, as to Philip. It appears unallowable to object to him who is elected by, and has received the homage and the oaths of, a great majority of the German Princes; unseemly for the Pope to visit upon him injuries suffered from his brother and his forefathers; inexpedient to oppose one so powerful. But, again, the election has fallen upon,

homage been done, and allegiance sworn to, a person incapable of Empire, the Duke of Swabia, lying at that very time under excommunication. The revocation of the sentence by the Bishop of Sutri was illegal, and is therefore void; and, had it been valid, the Duke has incurred the sentence anew by supporting an enemy of the Church, Markwald von Anweiler. His election was unseemly, because he was perjured, having broken his oath of allegiance to his nephew, in order to usurp what he himself called that nephew's birthright. And it is inexpedient alike to place supreme power in the hands of one whose whole race have been enemies and persecutors of the Church; and, by permitting one brother to succeed to another, immediately after a son has succeeded to his father, to suffer the Empire to become hereditary, and the Princes to lose their right of election.

Thirdly, as to Otho. If his election appear unallowable on account of the small number of his electors, yet of the especial electors the numbers were equal (evidently, Innocent, recurring to the original five nations, considers the Duke of Brabant as representing the Duke of Lorrain, and disallows the Margrave of Brandenburg, notwithstanding his arch-chamberlainship, as not being at the head of a distinct nation), and he was regularly crowned by the proper prelate at the established place. His person is unobjectionable, and if he be less powerful than his antagonist, this is immaterial to the Pope, who is exalted above all human fears.

Upon these considerations, Innocent permits his ward's claim to drop, and positively rejects the Duke of Swabia's. He advises the German Princes either to unite in a new election of an unobjectionable person, or to refer the whole to his decision. If neither of these courses be adopted, His Holiness will be under the necessity of recognising Otho, Duke of Brunswick and Earl of Poitou, as King of the Romans, supporting him in every way, and inviting him to Rome to receive the Imperial crown.

This Papal Deliberation is said to have offended even Otho's party, as a flagrant encroachment upon the rights of the Princes of the Empire.(307) Certainly it did not induce a single Ghibeline to desert Philip, but elicited

from his party an earnest remonstrance against the Holy Father's usurped pretensions, and provoked from the King of France a strong protest against such an invasion of the rights of monarchs. Otho felt very differently as to an usurpation, by which he was likely to obtain possession of the royal rights to be so invaded; and after some months of fruitless negotiation and exertion on the part of the Legate to prevail upon both Kings to abdicate, he endeavoured to secure Innocent's future protection, whilst repaying the decision in his favour, by taking, upon the 8th of June, 1201, the following singularly circumstantial oath in the Legate's hands: "I, Otho, by the Grace of God King of the Romans, &c., assure, vow, promise, and swear to thee, my Lord Pope Innocent, and to thy successors, that all the possessions, honours, and rights of the Roman Church, I will, to the best of my power, and in good faith, protect and preserve. The possessions that the Roman Church has already recovered, I will suffer her freely and quietly to retain, and faithfully assist her so to do. Those which she has not yet recovered, I will, to the best of my power, assist her to regain and to keep, and those that may come into my hands, I will, without delay, deliver over to her. Herein are comprehended all the territories between Radicofani and Ceperano, the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, the march of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the county of Bertinoro, and the domains of the Marchioness Matilda, and all adjacent lands, as described in divers charters from the time of the Emperor Lewis. Also, I will assist the Roman Church to preserve and defend the Kingdom of Sicily. Further, I will render to thee, my Lord Pope Innocent, and thy successors, all the obedience and reverence that pious and Catholic Emperors are wont to render to the Apostolic See. I will govern myself by thy counsel and direction in maintaining and confirming the customary privileges of the Roman people, as also in the affairs of the Lombard and Tuscan Leagues. Even so will I obey thy counsel and direction respecting peace and alliance with the King of France. Should the Roman See be involved in war on my account, I will assist her, as her need may require. And all here promised, I will con-

firm by oath, and in writing, when I receive the Imperial crown."

There is here, it may be observed, no specific renunciation of such right of interference in episcopal elections as the Calixtine Concordat left to the emperors. Such renunciation was either held to be comprehended in some of the vague expressions used, or more probably none was thought necessary, all right of the kind whatever, being assumed by the Popes to have been always illegal usurpation, and long since abandoned to them. The Bishop of Palestrina, then Papal Legate in Germany, delighted with this cession of all the long disputed territory, and probably deluding himself into the belief of what he wished, wrote to Innocent that Philip was no more to be heard of, his few remaining partisans only awaiting an opportunity of deserting him, whilst Otho would forthwith take the field at the head of 100,000 men. So far were these statements from being realized, that their self-evident falsehood might serve to shew how much Innocent had been deceived by the misrepresentations of his legates, with respect to this double election, as he will be seen, in the course of the narrative, to be upon more than one other occasion.

It were tedious and uninstructive to relate in detail the hostilities and intrigues that filled Germany during the next few years; whilst to dwell upon the concomitant atrocities, were both painful and revolting. The main incidents and results will be fully sufficient. The first point of interest is the effect of the Pope's intervention; and it is not a little astonishing to note the disregard displayed by the German Princes, spiritual as well as temporal, for excommunications and interdicts, such as had blighted the reign and virtually overturned the throne of Henry IV. Not a single partisan of Philip's, though all were cumulatively, hypothetically, and prospectively anathematized, did the thunders of the Church scare from his side. When he *was* deserted, the lure was palpable. In defiance of the interdict, all rites of the Church were everywhere celebrated; bishops-elect were consecrated by excommunicated prelates; the Chapter of Magdeburg refused to depose their Ghibeline archbishop at the Pope's command, in order to substitute a

Guelph; the Archbishop of Besançon invited the excommunicated Philip to visit him, and receive in his Cathedral the homage and oaths of allegiance of the Burgundian vassalage; the Bishop of Spires seized and imprisoned two Papal messengers, &c. It would, indeed, be surprising if a contempt of his authority, so strikingly contrasted to the implicit submission he generally met with, had not embittered Innocent's feelings towards Philip.

The fortune of war and negotiation at first favoured Otho, who took the field in both more actively than his rival. If he failed to make himself master of the great object of his father's amibition, Goslar, he built a fortress over against it that kept the citizens in constant alarm, besides obstructing their trade. His relations with Denmark, though costly, were satisfactory. To Canute, the husband of his half sister, succeeded Waldemar, who married his full sister, Richenza, giving his own sister Helena to Otho's younger brother, Duke William. Waldemar celebrated his coronation at Lubeck, as King of the Danes and Slavonians, Duke of Jutland, and Lord of all the German lands north of the Elbe; by this last title asserting his sovereignty over the whole district from the frontier of Holstein to the Oder, from the sea to the margraviate of Brandenburg, including all the Slavonian territories left to the Lion when he was reduced to the dukedom of Brunswick, but which his heirs had been unable to defend against Denmark. Waldemar further took advantage of the weakness of the divided and disputed Imperial authority, to renounce all vassalage to the Emperor, not only for Denmark, but even for these German provinces. But Otho felt this impairing of a patrimony, only part of which could be his, and of an Empire that he still had to win by the sword, compensated by the security derived from having a firm friend and powerful ally in his rear. Two of Philip's adherents Otho moreover seduced from him. The Landgrave of Thuringia, who was somewhat unstable in his political attachments, he bribed with the promise of two or three towns, and of assistance to subdue the Free Imperial city of Nordhausen. The second, the King of Bohemia, was yet more disgracefully won. Ottocar, having grown weary of his Queen,

a sister of the Margrave of Misnia, by whom he had a large family, sought to repudiate her, and marry a young Hungarian princess, sister to the rival brothers, Emmeric and Andreas. His Bohemian clergy, freely or coerced, sanctioned these licentious proceedings; but it should seem that the intended bride's royal brothers, warned by the contested legality of the marriage of Philip Augustus with Agnes von Andechs, required more certainty of the wooer's being at liberty to offer his hand. For this, a Papal sanction of his divorce was indispensable, which Ottocar hoped to earn by supporting the Pope's favourite candidate; and Otho warmly recommended his suit to Innocent's kind consideration. The Holy Father, according to his usual practice upon such applications, directed certain Cardinals to repair to the residence of the parties, inquire into the facts of the case, and report to him whether there were or were not grounds for annulling the marriage, that is to say, whether the husband and wife were or were not related within the prohibited degree. A step seemingly indispensable under the circumstances, though held by Ghibelines to indicate undue partiality to Ottocar, or rather to his patron, Otho. The inquiry lingered through years, without doubt purposely prolonged through such partiality, by the Cardinals, who were reluctant to alienate Ottocar by speaking the truth; and during its continuance, Ottocar managed to accomplish the nuptials he desired. Innocent certainly never sanctioned this second marriage; he complained to the Archbishop of Salzburg of Ottocar's wedding another wife without waiting for his decision,[308] and never spoke of the Hungarian Princess but as Ottocar's concubine; but he does not appear to have taken any steps towards compelling the unlawfully united pair to separate.

Philip, himself an attached and constant husband, a devout, moral, and domestic man, was disgusted by the King of Bohemia's conduct, and willingly listened to the family of the wronged Queen, amongst whom were some of the mightiest of the German princes. Upon the complaint of her brother, the Margrave of Misnia, he pronounced that Ottocar had by his misconduct forfeited his kingdom; which he at once granted, strangely enough,

not to the deposed monarch's son by his discarded wife, the nephew of the Margrave, but to a nephew of that deposed monarch's, named Ladislas, *Germanicè* Theobald, then a student at Magdeburg, and likely, he perhaps thought, to introduce German civilization among the Czechs. At the same time, seeing that only force could decide the contest for the empire, Philip assembled troops and invaded Thuringia, to begin by chastising his own renegade nephew the Landgrave. Hermann applied for succour to his brother deserter, the King of Bohemia, who hastened to his aid with an army against which Philip was, at the moment, unable to make head. He evacuated Thuringia, escaping in person from Erfurt under cover of the night. Ottocar now resumed his original title of Duke of Bohemia, not certainly as acknowledging his deposal by Philip, but as considering the grant of his regal dignity void, because the act of an unlawfully elected sovereign. Otho repaid the efficient assistance of his new adherent, and the sacrifice, by a grant of the title that Ottocar had laid aside, and crowning him king at Merseburg. But the atrocities that marked the Czech line of march in Thuringia, by disgusting the Germans with such partisans, ultimately proved as beneficial to Philip, as the seasonable aid had momentarily been to his adversaries.

And here Otho's success ended. His grand reliance, Richard of England, was no more; and though John equally professed himself the champion of his nephew's right to the Empire, neither in power, valour, ability, nor yet in influence or inclination, could he supply the place of his lion-hearted brother. The English money promised to the Archbishop of Cologne, as well for himself as for Otho's service, was not forthcoming; and even this factious prelate gradually became lukewarm in the cause of which he himself had been the originator. Philip meanwhile profited by the growing unpopularity of Otho, whose arrogant yet coarsely rough demeanour presented a contrast, offensively striking to his own courteous deportment and general affability. Again Philip led an army into Thuringia, when evacuated by the Bohemians. Several of the Thuringian great vassals joined him, and the Landgrave now returned to his natural

allegiance, giving one of his sons as a hostage for his fidelity to the nephew of his own mother. The next desertion from Otho to Philip, was one more painful to the feelings, and inauspicious to the hopes of the deserted. Palsgrave Henry, now the head of the Welfs, was a warrior of known prowess, an approved skilful diplomatist, and a returned Crusader. If he had felt hurt at being passed over—because absent in the performance of a sacred duty—in favour of his yet untried young brother, he had not discovered any such sentiment, strenuously supporting Otho. In resentment of this support, Philip had invaded and occupied the Palatinate, of which he now threatened to dispossess his cousin's husband; and Henry, therefore, demanded a new division of the territories left to the three brothers by their father, of which he, though the eldest, appears to have had a very small portion, probably because deemed amply endowed as Rhine Palsgrave. Being threatened with the loss of his wife's patrimony, the Palatinate, as the penalty of his aid to Otho, he now claimed Brunswick, with some other towns, in compensation. This Otho resisted, upon the plea that any such measure, before he should be undisputed master of the Empire, would look like weakness, and be prejudicial to his interests. Henry, in his anger at the ungrateful refusal, recovered the far more valuable Palitinate, by doing homage and swearing allegiance to his own as well as his wife's kinsman, Philip, whose army he reinforced with all his vassals. Otho was marching upon Goslar to renew the siege, when he learned his brother's defection, and he immediately abandoned the attempt. Philip committed the government and defence of that key of Saxony, as Goslar was esteemed, to the Rhine-Palsgrave.

Philip, at the head of the army with which he had recovered Thuringia, now invaded the principality of his most dreaded opponent, the Archbishop of Cologne; and Adolf, who had sickened of the task he had undertaken, ever since his disappointment of the promised pecuniary supplies from England, now became seriously alarmed for the result. The Archbishop of Treves thought this a favourable opportunity for prevailing upon his former

colleague to give up his enterprise; and, in concert with the Earl of Juliers, like himself a seceder from the anti-Swabian faction, he made overtures both to the now vacillating Archbishop of Cologne, and to the Duke of Brabant; who was at once irritated by Otho's non-completion of his marriage contract, and less desirous of its completion, as clouds seemed more and more to overshadow his intended son-in-law's prospect of the Empire. Philip upon this occasion lavished money, of which his lay negotiator, William of Juliers, was greedy; and in November, 1204, the Earl, conjointly with his archiepiscopal colleague, concluded treaties with both Archbishop and Duke. Philip restored to the see of Cologne all the territories he had conquered from it, with some small addition; the Duke of Brabant obtained the admission of women's right of inheritance to Utrecht, Nimeguen, and some other of his Imperial fiefs. Each received a sum of several thousand marks, as well for himself as professedly to buy off Lotharingian partisans of Otho's; and both did homage to Philip before the end of the month. Their example was of course followed by many of Otho's prelates and nobles.

The two Archbishops, Philip's original enemies, now appointed a Diet to meet at Achen upon the 6th of January, 1205, for the purpose of remedying the irregularities that had been held to invalidate that Prince's election. The Diet was most numerously attended, even of the Lotharingian princes only the Duke of Limburg appearing to have absented himself. Philip laid down his crown, and as Duke of Swabia and Tuscany solicited the suffrages of the assembled Estates of the Empire. All present having repaired to Achen for the express purpose of giving them, deliberation was needless. He was at once unanimously elected, and, with his wife Irene, duly crowned in Charlemagne's Cathedral, with the proper *regalia*, and by the proper prelate, the Archbishop of Cologne. In his election and coronation there was no longer a flaw in the estimation of Germany, where a papal sentence of excommunication was not then allowed to incapacitate for any dignity.

Innocent and Ottocar were Otho's only remaining

efficient supporters, Waldemar II taking no active part in behalf of his brother-in-law. Far otherwise the Pope. He exhorted Otho to be firm; he wrote to King John to send his nephew the money promised him by Richard; he upbraided the German princes, by letter, with their desertion of their lawful sovereign for the excommunicated Duke of Swabia. He excommunicated the Archbishop of Cologne, and authorized Siegfrid, the Guelph Archbishop-elect of Mainz, whose election he had instantly confirmed, but who was yet unconsecrated, jointly with the Archbishop of Cambrai, to depose Adolf and procure the election of a successor to that see. The two Guelph prelates willingly obeyed, and the choice of the equally Guelph Chapter fell upon Graf Bruno von Sayn, Dean of the Bonn church, and his election again the Pope instantly confirmed. But so offensive were these measures to the German Hierarchy, that no compatriot prelate of adequate dignity could be found to consecrate these doubtfully elected anti-archbishops, Siegfrid and Bruno; and it became necessary to invite over two English prelates to perform the indispensable ceremony.

This deposal of Archbishop Adolf is the most arbitrary act recorded of Innocent, and little estimable as that, fickle, as well as factious, prelate may appear, it is one difficult to reconcile to the thorough singleness of purpose, ascribed to this pontiff, since he deprived a canonically elected, lawfully installed prelate, of ecclesiastical office and dignity for a cause purely political With respect to Mainz the case was different; there a double election having occurred, he might, not very unfairly, argue that the exercise of the acknowledged Imperial right of intervention by Philip, whom he did not recognise as a sovereign, vitiated Leopold's election by the great majority of the Chapter, thus leaving Siegfrid the only candidate elected. Apparently, the tendency of the human mind to adhere to any purpose, opinion, or feeling, with a pertinacity increasing in proportion to the opposition encountered, and to give the reins to passion when temperate measures fail of success, really blinded the Pope to the injustice he was committing.

Philip raised an army to reinstall Adolf; Otho des-

patched what troops he could collect, under the Duke of Limburg, to assist Bruno in defending Cologne, of which he was in actual possession; the usual political opposition between every prelate and his episcopal city having overbalanced, in the Archbishop's flock, the usual loyalty of towns to the Swabian Emperors. The archbishopric was ravaged by the allies of the rival archbishops; and Philip besieged Cologne, where Otho had joined Bruno. After some alternations of success, Philip won over the Duke of Limburg to his side; and the Duke, aided perhaps by the fact that the Archbishop present in the city was a Guelph, persuaded the citizens to follow his example. Otho, upon discovering this defalcation, fled, accompanied by Prince Walram of Limburg, who had formerly betrayed Philip's trust; Bruno was detained as a prisoner, and Cologne sued for pardon and peace. Both were freely granted, Adolf was reinstalled, and this important city was Philip's.

Much about this time he recovered his other deserter, Ottocar of Bohemia, who having at length obtained his Hungarian princess, without a papal ratification of his divorce, cared little about obtaining it; though, whilst his matrimonial sin was incomplete, the dilatory proceedings of Innocent are said to have so angered him, as to have indisposed him towards the cause favoured by the Pope. And this, whilst Ghibelines aver the dilatoriness to be an unfair mode of avoiding to displease a supporter of Otho's, and severely censured Innocent for not compelling Ottocar, as he did Philip Augustus, to take back his lawful wife. The fact seems to be that the Holy Father was perplexed by unsatisfactory reports: for as late as in 1810, after Philip's death, judges in the matter were again appointed both at Rome and in Germany.(309) Ottocar's new brother-in-law, Lewis Duke of Bavaria, who had married another Hungarian princess, negotiated his reconciliation with Philip, one condition of which was the marriage of Ottocar's eldest son and heir, Wenceslas, with Philip's eldest daughter, Cunegunda. Her son's alliance with the Imperial House possibly tended to satisfy the repudiated Queen of Bohemia, and her Misnian kindred, with Philip's thus leaving her cause wholly to the Pope; and they appear to have made no complaint, when

in the year 1206, Ottocar, declaring openly for Philip, was again well received by him, and acknowledged as King.

To countervail all these triumphs of his antagonist's, Otho had only the capture and plunder of Goslar by his troops; and so helplessly forsaken did he feel himself, that, abandoning the field as it seemed to Philip, he passed over into England. But he went in search of means to renew the contest, by pressing his royal uncle for the promised effective support. John received the Imperial petitioner with a profuse magnificence, in which he wasted the money that might have given an army to Otho, who carried back to Germany only about 5000 marks.

The following year, Philip, at the earnest prayer of Cologne, kept the Easter festival in that reconciled city. It was attended by Burgundian and Italian princes, as the Marquess of Este, though related to Otho, and the Earl of Savoy, who came to do homage and receive investiture of their fiefs, from him, in whom they now acknowledged the undisputed King of the Romans and future Emperor. Upon the same occasion he affianced his second daughter, Mary, to the eldest son and heir of the Duke of Brabant.

In this triumphant condition, Philip earnestly strove to conciliate his only remaining formidable enemy, hitherto so inveterate, the Pope: thus to obtain certain and absolute relief from the sentence of excommunication, under which he and his adherents still lay. For this purpose he sent an embassy, headed by the Patriarch of Aquileia, to Rome, to endeavour to open a negotiation with Innocent. The Patriarch bore a letter addressed by Philip to the Holy Father; narrating and vindicating his conduct generally, ever since the death of Henry VI, and especially in regard to his nephew Frederic; offering to submit all the points, upon which the Pope conceived he had grounds of complaint against him to the arbitration of Cardinals and German Princes, good and just men; and referring his own grounds of complaint against His Holiness, to the conscience of His Holiness himself, in whom he acknowledged the Vicar of Christ upon earth. It has been alleged that he further offered one of his daughters, with the larger part of the Matildan heritage, to wit, Tuscany, the duchy of Spoleto, and the march of Ancona, as her

portion, for one of the Pope's nephews. Whether the offer were made is very doubtful,(310) and that nothing came of it is certain.

Innocent was manifestly pleased with the communication, and appointed two Cardinals, Ugolino di Segni, his own near relation, afterwards Pope Gregory IX, and Leo Brancaleone, to accompany Philip's embassadors back to Germany, and treat with the monarch—but still only as Duke of Swabia, his second election being vitiated, in papal judgment, by his excommunication. This mission was, however, more of a proper Christian Churchman's. The instructions of the Legates were, to require the Duke of Swabia's oath to obey the Pope in those points, disobedience in which had incurred the anathema of the Church, and to abandon his two Archbishops, of Mainz and Cologne, to their fate; upon receiving which oath the Legates were to relieve him from excommunication, and readmit him into the pale of the Church. This done, they were to mediate peace between Philip and Otho.

The required oath was vague, and a reconciliation with the Pope of vital importance to Philip; he therefore took it, and prevailed upon the two prelates to submit their claims, voluntarily, to Papal decision, repairing to Rome, there to plead their own cause. The two Cardinals thereupon relieved Philip, and the now submissive Archbishops, from excommunication; and Innocent, by letter, congratulated Philip upon his readmission into the Church.(311)

The mediation between the rival monarchs experienced greater difficulties; but, the disorders in Germany appearing to be the main obstacle to that chief object of Innocent's desires, an Imperial Crusade, indefatigable, inextinguishable was the zeal of his Legates. Years before, when the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Grand-Master of the Templars had attended a Diet at Nordhausen to solicit aid for Palestine, Philip had pledged himself to undertake its relief, as soon as he should be in uncontested possession of the Empire. Stimulated by such a prospect, the Legates journeyed backwards and forwards from court to court; but fruitlessly they journeyed; fruitlessly did they even bring about two interviews between the rivals, and press upon them the terms which the Pope

desired both parties to accept. These were, that Philip should be King of the Romans and Emperor, giving Otho the eldest of his still unaffianced daughters to wife, with the duchy of Swabia and some of his Franconian fiefs for her portion; as the price of Otho's renouncing his pretensions to the crown, and doing homage to his future father-in-law, as King.(312) To facilitate an arrangement so desirable the Legates offered the two necessary dispensations; the one, releasing Otho from his inchoate engagement to the Brabant princess; the other, more difficult, and never granted by Innocent but for some urgent political object, such as the present, a dispensation sanctioning the proposed marriage, notwithstanding the consanguinity of the parties—Philip and Otho were second cousins. Philip readily acceded to the Pope's proposals; but to all the Legates' arguments, Otho, at both interviews, arrogantly replied, that only with his life would he renounce his crown, but that he would remunerate Philip's renunciation with gifts far more splendid than what were offered to himself. What the splendid gifts designed for the Duke of Swabia and Tuscany and Lord of nearly half Franconia, by the heir of a third of the duchy of Brunswick, might be, was neither stated nor asked. The proposal was at once declined, and all the Cardinals could achieve was the conclusion of a twelvemonth's truce, during which to continue their pacific endeavours. Even this armistice was a real concession and sacrifice on the part of Philip, who had a considerable army to disband; a gain on Otho's, who had only the vassals of Brunswick and Lüneberg in arms.

During this year of truce, negotiations were carried on at Rome, under the mediation and arbitration of Innocent in person. Their tenor is unknown, having been kept secret whilst in progress, and their significance being annihilated by the course of events. Otho professed apprehensions of an unfavourable papal decision, and loudly complained that, in Germany, the Legates had been bribed; an accusation abundantly refuted by the character of one of them, at least, namely of him who was to be Gregory IX. Otho's apprehensions might likewise have been allayed by the letters Innocent addressed to him,

which spoke the language of encouragement. Philip, equally and more justly, distrusted the arbitrator to whose sentence he had submitted his claims; and this, although the Legates had more than insinuated that the Holy Father had nearly made up his mind to abandon Otho's cause, both as hopeless, and as the principal obstacle to the ardently desired Crusade. Meanwhile, as the year of truce drew towards a close, Philip summoned the Princes of the Empire again to assemble around his standard, in order to crush the anti-king. Otho, on the other part, had obtained a promise of active support from Waldemar, whom he now called upon to fulfil his engagements, and take the field with him. On neither side, were the military preparations interrupted by the intelligence that the Legates—who appear to have been recalled to Rome there to assist in the negotiations—were on their return, charged with the result of all these diplomatic labours, and the Pope's own decision.

All the horrors of civil war were again impending over Germany, in addition to the evils inflicted by ten years of not only virtual interregnum, in the want of an efficiently controlling, sovereign authority, but of struggle for that authority. This last was a fearful calamity, since it obliged the contending monarchs to court partisans; and therefore to connive at the transgression of those wise laws, by which their predecessors had laboured to suppress intestine wars, and the plunder of the weak by the strong. Again, princes and nobles were deluging the land with the blood of their vassals, shed in their private quarrels; again, robber-knights sought the maintenance of themselves and their followers upon the high roads, whilst the rival kings endeavoured not to see evils they were powerless to remedy. An instance or two of this will sufficiently shew the state of the country. Palsgrave Otho of Wittelsbach, a younger branch, it will be recollected, of the ducal house of Bavaria, having some quarrel with a nobleman bearing the name of Welf, though quite unconnected with the great Welf family, murdered him in the very court of the Duke of Bavaria; and the only notice Philip durst take of the crime, by no means the single deed of violence laid to the Bavarian Palsgrave's charge,

was to revoke a promise previously given him of the hand of one of his little daughters. And for this step he alleged a different motive, namely, consanguinity within the prohibited degrees, for which it was most unlikely that the Pope would grant the requisite dispensation. Again, a brother of the Bishop of Würzburg, upon some alleged idle suspicion, seized the Dean of the Chapter of Magdeburg, upon the public road, and put out his eyes. And the Bishop of Würzburg, himself, upon his way to church, was assaulted by private enemies—whom his endeavours to repress robbery are supposed to have provoked—murdered, and after death brutally mangled. These atrocities were perpetrated prior to the negotiations conducted by the Legates. Innocent, in his epistles, dilates upon such crimes, as the inevitable consequences of the schism in the Empire, caused by Philip's pertinacious retention of the usurped crown. The Germans, with the sole exception of the now very small Guelph faction, imputed the schism itself, and the consequent disorders, to the Pope's unjust protection of Otho, in which they saw no object, but the weakening of the Imperial power.(313)

Philip had promised his niece Beatrice, the only child of his deceased brother Otho Earl or Duke of Burgundy —his title seems uncertain—to Otho Duke of Meran. But the lady, though an only child and a princess, does not appear to have inherited her grandmother's county of Burgundy, with the vicariate of the whole of Burgundy thereto annexed; bringing her bridegroom, already the first Tyrolese nobleman, only some Burgundian and Tyrolese domains, to which her royal uncle added the Burgundian palatinate, as her portion. The Bishop of Bamberg, Egbert von Andechs, being a brother of the Duke of Meran, requested that a marriage, so flattering to his family, might be celebrated in his own Cathedral, and invited Philip, with his whole court, to visit him for the purpose at his magnificent episcopal fortress-palace, the Altenburg. Philip accepted the invitation, and the nuptial festivities being so arranged as immediately to precede the end of the armistice, he appointed Bamberg as the place of assemblage for his Ghibeline army. Upon the 21st of June, Philip, though somewhat indisposed, led

his niece, attended by his whole Court, to the high altar of the Bamberg Cathedral, and there bestowed her upon his reverend host's brother. The marriage solemnized, the royal party returned to the Altenburg.

The Altenburg is, or was, one of the most remarkable of the fortress-palaces adjoining episcopal cities, which, in addition to the intramural episcopal palace annexed to the Cathedral, the prince-bishops of Germany appear to have very generally possessed. These external castles served for an asylum from the violence of the prelate's often tumultuary, even rebellious flock; whence, when situated like the Altenburg, they, in a military sense, commanded the city. But its military strength was not the only merit of the Altenburg, the original ancestral castle of the Babenberg race, prior to their connexion with Austria. The position was majestically beautiful. Standing upon the Eastern extremity of a range of hills, although protected in its rear by yet loftier heights, so elevated is its site, that the almost panoramic view thence enjoyed is only in one place interrupted. Upon three sides, it overlooks an undulating country covered with villages, gardens, vineyards, woods, and cornfields, watered by the serpent-like winding Main, and its tributary the Regnitz, and bounded by the distant mountain ridges of Saxony and Bohemia. Immediately at the foot of its precipitous acclivity, appears, in what looks like a hollow, the singularly hilly city of Bamberg, running up and down, at least five steep, if not very lofty, hills, one of which is crowned by the Cathedral, with its four distinguishing towers.

To this Altenburg the bridal party returned, when the ceremony was over; and Philip, his malady somewhat increased by the exertion he had made to do his niece honour, retired to his own apartment. There, whilst his Queen sat down with the company to the wedding banquet, he was bled, and remained with two favourite companions certainly, his Chancellor, Conrad Bishop of Spires, and Heinrich von Waldburg, his Sewer, and perhaps a Chamberlain. Philip is said to have been a patron of the Arts, a lover of poetry. As such he could hardly be insensible to the beauties of nature; and may be supposed to have been reposing in untroubled enjoy-

ment of the smiling prospect, and of friendly conversation, when disturbed by a tap at the door. The King's domestic tastes and habits rendered the restraints of court ceremonial irksome to him, and little regular attendance seems therefore to have been exacted of his household officers. Upon the present occasion, all would be drawn away from their posts, by the nuptial celebration and pleasures. Neither page, chamberlain, nor even a menial servant was in waiting upon the retired King. The tap was therefore followed by the unceremonious entrance of Palsgrave Otho of Wittelsbach, newly arrived to join the army, who has already been mentioned as a faithful adherent of Philip's, though so recklessly violent in character and conduct that even in his administration of justice, he acted more like a savage than the officer of an organized society. The Bavarian Palsgrave's occasional outrages, if they had caused Philip to revoke his acceptance of him as a son-in-law, had not, seemingly, impaired the intimacy to which the monarch had admitted his vassal; an intimacy resulting rather from mutual admiration on the battle-field, where both shone conspicuous for prowess and valiancy, than from any congeniality of disposition. The scene, that ensued upon his entrance, is so astounding, as well as unaccountable, the two, or at most three witnesses must have been so bewilderingly agitated, that the few discrepancies occurring in the narratives of different contemporaneous writers cannot be matter of surprise. Nor are they very material, since, respecting the principal facts, no doubt has ever existed. These are authenticated by the report which the Legates, then on their way to Philip's Court, transmitted to the Pope, relating what, upon their arrival, they had learned.

The scene is as follows. The Palsgrave unannounced, entered the King's chamber, his sword either in his hand, or immediately drawn, flourishing it about, and fencing —if making passes without an antagonist may be so called—much as he was wont, it is said, to do, for the amusement of Philip, who took much pleasure in observing his great dexterity in the use of his weapon. The King, whether in his invalid condition he felt the flashing of the steel an annoyance, or because the Bishop, as has

been supposed, was frightened—though Churchmen were in those days no strangers to the use of arms—desired him to sheath his sword, the place not being suited to such play. The Palsgrave answered, "Nor is it play! Thou shalt now pay for thy falsehood!" rushed upon Philip and struck him in the neck. This is the most general account; but one old Chronicler says, that Otho entered with a drawn sword concealed under his garments, and, instantly brandishing it, fell upon the King, thus rendering the introductory dialogue impossible. Whichever were the previous course, no sooner was the blow struck, than Waldburg springing upon the assassin, grappled with him, and was cut in the cheek—the scar, an honourable monument of his loyalty, he bore till his death Upon feeling the wound, he momentarily relaxed his grasp, when the Palsgrave, breaking from him, fled. Philip had started from his couch, he took a step or two forward, and fell dead upon the floor, the main artery being cut.(314)

The tumult and confusion in the castle may be better imagined than described. The King's death once ascertained, his faithful friends thought, for the moment, only of rescuing, from what seemed the explosion of a formidable conspiracy, the imperilled remaining scions of the Imperial house of Swabia, Philip's infant daughters and pregnant widow, upon whom—the Sicilian Frederic being little known and less considered—rested well nigh the last hopes of the Ghibelines. Irene, stupefied by the suddenness of the overwhelming calamity, was removed, scarcely conscious, by her attendants, to the ancestral castle of the Hohenstaufen; where, sinking under the blow, she prematurely gave birth to a dead child, and died. The Bishop of Spires carried off the two children to what he judged a secure asylum—the two affianced princesses appear to have been previously delivered over to their respective future fathers-in-law, to be educated at the courts over which they were to preside; no unusual or unwise practice of early times. These measures of precaution on the part of the Ghibelines are very intelligible, and not unreasonable; but what is absolutely incomprehensible is the conduct of two brothers of the bridegroom

just received into the Imperial family, the Bishop of Bamberg and the Margrave of Istria. They—whether Otho, after the deed was done, did or did not seek a refuge in the Bishop's apartments, whether he were or were not accompanied to Philip's door by ten or fifteen of the Andechs men-at-arms, the story is told all four ways—fled, as precipitately as the murderer.

The possible motives impelling the Palsgrave to the regicide, and the complicity or non-complicity of the fugitive Andechs brothers, are questions that have exercised the ingenuity of innumerable historians, and have been, and can only be conjecturally answered. A very remarkable circumstance is, that no one appears to have even suspected the sole person who could profit by the crime, Otho IV, of having instigated it. To individual resentment only, can it therefore be ascribed; and the purity of Philip's moral character puts the usual cause of resentment against princes, jealousy, out of the question. The vindictive feelings of the Palsgrave are attributed by some writers to Philip's retracting his promise of the hand of his infant daughter; by others, to his disappointing him in regard to another matrimonial project. According to these, Palsgrave Otho, when he had lost all hope of an imperial and royal wife, desiring to wed a daughter of Henry the Bearded, Duke of Lower Silesia, by Hedwig von Andechs, sister to the Duke of Meran, the Bishop of Bamberg and the Margrave of Istria, asked the King for a letter of recommendation to the Duke. He received a sealed packet; in a somewhat indecorous fit of curiosity, broke the seal; and found a statement of the conduct which had prevented Philip from fulfilling his own engagement to give him one of his daughters; and, it has been added, advice to make away with the suitor. No part of this story is generally credited, whilst the sanguinary portion is almost unanimously rejected. If the other part be true, such a revelation of his faults—though seemingly due to a father whose child he sought in marriage—not being the recommendation Otho had asked, might well exasperate such a man to a sudden passion of revenge. But only by one of those who thus account for the Palsgrave's fury, is the transaction represented as recent; and the very manner

of its perpetration proves, that neither symptoms of resentment on Otho's part, nor consciousness of having given cause for such feelings on Philip's, had interrupted their habitual familiar intercourse. Again, this story, if true, affords no light relative to the Andechs brothers. The bride, whom the Palsgrave lost through the letter, was the daughter of their sister, the canonized Hedwig; and a warning of the ungovernable temper, and reckless disregard of human life in him who sought her, might be expected to awaken her uncles' gratitude. Assuredly, it could never provoke them to conspire with the disappointed wooer, in the very palace of the Bishop, against his royal guest, who was even then receiving their elder brother, the head of their house, into his own family. That historians so generally admit their complicity as certain, is not the least strange part of this singular regicide. Would not the bewilderment of terror, produced by the sudden catastrophe in the episcopal palace —especially if the assassin *did*, in the first instance, seek shelter in his reverend host's private apartments—be a more rational explanation of the flight of the brothers? And that flight is not only the sole proof against them, but the solitary suspicious circumstance. The whole affair is so unaccountable, that, with Raumer's remark— "A veil still hangs over the crime, which none of the sources of information at our command enable us to lift"— the problem must be left, unsolved, to future investigation, with the chance that some as yet unknown document may be found to throw light upon Palsgrave Otho's motives.(315)

NOTES TO VOL. II.

(1) p. 3. Vol. i, p. 367.

(2) p. 5. This division of the army into Free and Non-Free, or *Servi*, has given rise to disputes amongst later historians, one of whom, Luden, conjectures the non-free to have been the townsmen. But it is difficult to see how the word *servi* could be applied to a class of which even the inferior portion, the handicraftsmen, were by this time very generally enfranchised in most countries; in Germany, by a charter of Henry V's. It seems more likely that the villeins (*leibeigene*), whom their lords brought with them as their personal attendants—and perhaps others of the higher grade (*hörige*), as a sort of infantry—were the *servi* whose good conduct was to be thus insured. The code is valuable, as the proof of a step towards superseding Judicial Combat and the Ordeal, by evidence.

(3) p. 6. Tacitus.

(4) p. 6. Vol. i, p. 100.

(5) p. 8. Gospel of St. Luke, ch. 6, v. 38.

(6) p. 8. Radevicus, Ser Raul, Luden, Raumer, Johannes de Mussis, Vincent, Prag. This small proportion of cavalry, in days, when knights, with their complement of men-at-arms constituting a Lance, seem to have been the main force of armies, is perplexing: but though the old chroniclers differ as to the numbers of the foot—Radevicus makes the 100,000 include the whole—nearly all agree in the 15,000 well-armed horsemen.

(7) p. 11. Radevicus. He does not explain whether this right of confirming included that of rejecting; but if it did not, it was so mere a form as hardly to be worth such special reservation.

(8) p. 11. It is impossible not to remark the inconsistencies of the enemies of Frederic Barbarossa, in their inculpations of this great Emperor. Whilst Sismondi infers, from the great leniency of the conditions imposed upon Milan that he must have felt himself virtually defeated,—an idea not very compatible with the account of the Imperial army, the submission of Milan, and the other facts of the case—Luden, who allows those conditions

not to have been really degrading to the Milanese, adduces the manner in which they were obliged to ask pardon, as a proof of Frederic's hatred and contempt for cities and citizens. The reader has already seen, and will further see, vassal princes submitting to the same humiliating form; stated by Jacob Grimm, in his RECHTS-ALTERTHÜMER, to be the regular mode in which freemen asked their sovereign's pardon; the sword hanging from the neck of the noble and the cord round that of the non-noble, being the confession of having deserved, the first, decapitation, the last, hanging.

(9) p. 13. The title of Doctor of Law appears to have come into use about this time. Early in the century, Irnerius is, in legal documents, called *Judex* and *Causidicus*, in contemporary chronicles, *Magister;* never Doctor. A little later Walfridus is indiscriminately termed *Judex*, *Magister*, and *Doctor*, which last title the jurists long endeavoured to monopolize.

(10) p. 15. Hallam..

(11) p. 16. These words may require some qualification. The first mention of a *Podestà* in modern history and as a mediæval magistrate, this certainly is. But in ancient times, if Cicero only uses the word *potestas* vaguely, as meaning any one possessing authority, Juvenal distinctly employs it as the title of a specific magistrate:

"Fidenarum, Gabiorumve esse Potestas."

(12) p. 19. As both letters are extant, and most historians reckon them amongst the chief causes of irritation between the correspondents, they have been named as such; but it is proper to add that Muratori doubts their authenticity; whilst, if admitted, the cause seems very inadequate to the effect.

(13) p. 20. Savigny, Vincent, Prag.

(14) p. 21. Old Guelphs and modern liberals call Frederic a faithless tyrant, for this breach of the terms, spontaneously granted to Milan after her surrender;—capitulation, as called by some, it was not;—even Mr. Hallam thus condemning him. No doubt both parties were in the wrong;—in what quarrel, public or private, is this not the case? But does he deserve the name of a faithless tyrant for indulging the idea—if a strained interpretation, one in which Diet and Jurists concurred—that the subsequent oath of the Milanese, to obey the laws by which all their fellow countrymen were to be governed, superseded that grant?

(15) p. 22. Radevicus; who thus gives and remarks upon their answer: "Juravimus quidem, sed juramentum attendere non promisimus." Digna responsio, ut moribus oratio consonaret, et qui pravè et perfidè vivere et facere consueverant, aliter ac perfidè et pravè loqui non potuissent. Otto Morena does not cite the words, but after stating that all swore perpetual peace and observance of the Roncaglia laws, giving hostages for their good faith, proceeds to say: "Quamvis minus de mensibus septem Mediolanenses

et Cremonenses haec observaverint, imo ante hoc spatium Laudenses, cum nullum adhuc ipsis malum ullo modo intulissent, invadentes, ipsam pacem violaverunt."

(16) p. 30. Otto Morena.

(17) p. 33. The words "Professor of Theology" are something of an anachronism, the diligently investigating Tiraboschi deeming no such Chair to have been established at Bologna before the thirteenth century. But Bandinelli had taught religion and expounded the Bible there, and it is not easy to devise another title that as simply expresses this duty.

(18) p. 41. Hasse.

(19) p. 41. Muratori, Acerbus Morena, Ser Raul, and Otto de S. Blasio, expressly mention the permission to take away as much as each could carry.

(20) p. 41. Historians, even of the present day, *e. g.* Raumer on the one side and Luden on the other, dispute with a vehemence quite uncalled for, whether the fortifications only, or the edifices public, private, and sacred also, were destroyed; whether a ploughshare was or was not passed over the site, and salt sown in the furrow; as if such corroboration rather than enhancement of Milan's doom—stated by Luden and Voigt, upon Lombard authority—stamped Frederic an actual barbarian. What should the expelled citizens care for the condition of the empty houses they were never more to inhabit? Whole or in ruins they would equally serve the purpose to which, in Italy, as elsewhere, deserted temples, palaces, and houses, were, if they no longer are, habitually applied; namely, to furnish materials for new buildings. The fate of private dwellings—with the exception of the lofty towers of the fortress mansions, which he might think fostered the pride and temerity of their owners—was probably of little moment in the eyes of the Emperor. The churches he would hold it sacrilege to destroy; and Raumer proves, even by Milanese authorities, that they were, by his orders, spared, whilst the Guelph Muratori admits that spared they were. His real object, though he might consider it fair to retaliate upon Milan the ruin of Lodi and Como, evidently was, in punishing the past, to prevent the future rebellions of this mighty city, by extinguishing its municipal and belligerent vitality; which the dispersion of the citizens effectually accomplished. In a letter of his, in Martene's THESAURUS, after saying he had given the rebels their lives through clemency, he adds: "Ne prædictis hostibus occasio malignandi vel facultas rebellandi praestetur, fossata complanamus, muros subvertimus, turres omnes destruimus, et totam civitatem, in ruinam et desolationem ponimus." So far, indeed, were Frederic and his contemporaries from deeming the fate of Milan a blot in his escutcheon, that, whilst Acerbo Morena, the continuator of Otto, in narrating it, calls him "clementissimus Imperator," he himself for a while dated from it as a glorious epoch. Muratori, from a legal document, quotes these words: "Datum apud Taurinum, post destructionem Mediolani xv

Kalend. Septem." It may be added that whether the Lodesans, Comascans, and their allies, invigorated by their thirst for vengeance, razed the fortifications of Milan—the estimated work of months—in three weeks, or were compelled by the massive strength of the walls to return again and again to the welcome task, is likewise still disputed, and Sismondi was one of the disputants.

(21) p. 41. Hurter.

(22) p. 41. Vol. i, p. 431, note 282.

(23) p. 43. Ib., p. 322.

(24) p. 47. Stenzel.

(25) p. 48. Id. Abbé Raynal.

(26) p. 62. Luden, Helmold.

(27) p. 67. Savigny.

(28) p. 67. Manno.

(29) p. 68. The name is variously spelt, Barasone, Barassone, Bariso, Barisone, and Barissone; the choice amongst these forms seems immaterial.

(30) p. 68. Raumer, Oberti Annal.

(31) p. 69. The modern historian of Sardinia, Manno, a decided Guelph, represents this whole transaction as an unwarrantable usurpation on the part of Frederic, whom Barasone bribed thus wantonly to despoil his uncle Welf; thus confirming Muratori, who calls him venal, in reference both to this affair and to his occasional acceptance of the offers of cities, partly to defray the expense of expeditions against their rivals. The transaction relative to Sardinia is, perhaps, in point of justice, the most questionable of this reign; but the charge of usurpation rests wholly upon the papal claim to countries reconquered from unbelievers. Frederic would naturally consider a conquest made by a member of the Empire (which Pisa was), as becoming thereby a part of the Empire, held by the conqueror in vassalage, liable, as a fief, to forfeiture, and in such case at the disposal of the Emperor and Diet conjointly. His exempting the new made king from the mesne suzerainty of Pisa, would seem only an angry retort of Pisa's denial of his paramount sovereignty over the island. With respect to Duke Welf, it is not clear whether he did or did not intend to deprive him of his feudal superiority,—at all events a mere name,—which he had never even attempted to enforce over either Sardinia or Pisa, and for which he could easily make him compensation. Welf made no recorded complaint upon the subject; and indeed, after his acceptance of the Matildan heritage in lieu of his empty claim to Bavaria, showed no dissatisfaction with his Imperial nephew. In regard to venality, it is to be recollected that whilst there was no established system of taxation, the redemption of services, sale of privileges, offerings upon specific occasions, and casual voluntary offerings, were regular sources of the sovereign's often very scanty revenue. That Frederic rejected such offerings when he sup-

posed them made with objectionable views, has been seen; but why should he decline them when the purpose of the offerer harmonized with his own designs?

(32) p. 69. The word SENSUOUS to express the relations of the senses—as sensuous impressions, sensuous pleasures, untainted by sensuality, is now so well established in the language of metaphysics, that its adoption in history scarcely seems to need explanation or apology.

(33) p. 75. Thierry.

(34) p. 76. James, in his Life of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, represents Archbishop Reginald's visit to England as purely a pilgrimage to Thomas à Becket's tomb, of which Henry II availed himself to reconcile the prelate to the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, making the matrimonial negotiation originate in the intercourse of the several parties. Upon this representation, it will suffice to remark, that the most ardently active partisan of Pascal, as Reginald had been, and will the very next year still be found, would hardly have volunteered a pilgrimage to the tomb of a Saint canonized by Alexander, whom he esteemed an anti-pope, even had that Saint already, in 1164, been the Martyr of papal pretensions, instead of living till 1170; that, prior to these matrimonial negotiations, Henry II had no such relations with Henry the Lion as should enable or induce him to effect such a reconciliation; and, finally, that no quarrel is known to have existed between the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and the Archbishop of Cologne, in 1164; their violent enmity having broken out some years subsequent to this, their imaginary, reconciliation. It is evident that our talented novelist-biographer confuses Archbishop Reginald's political mission in behoof of Pascal, A.D. 1164, with his successor Archbishop Philip's pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas à Becket, twenty years later, A.D. 1184 or 5, when Henry II's daughter, Matilda, had for some years been the wife of Henry the Lion.

(35) p. 77. Böttiger.

(36) p. 78. Voigt.

(37) p. 82. Capecelatro.

(38) p. 82. Giannone. Queen Margaret has been so generally accused of illicit love for Maione, that it were idle at this distance of time to undertake her defence: else the praises heaped upon her in her widowhood, and Maione's undisguised profligacy in regard to women, seem little consistent with the imputation.

(39) p. 88. Capecelatro. "Secondo l'uso di quei tempi assai dotto in medicina."

(40) p. 93. Muratori.

(41) p. 93. Denina ascribes the idea of the League to the habitually Ghibeline Marchese Obizzo Malaspina; and fickleness must be confessed to have very much prevailed in Lombardy, Milan and Pavia excepted. But Mala-

spina seems only to have joined the League when it was very clearly the strongest.

(42) p. 93. Seemingly the natural policy of rebellion. Our Roundheads long called themselves the royal army.

(43) p. 94. The conclusion of commercial treaties with foreign cities, even with foreign potentates, by sea-port towns, was not, in the Middle Ages, proof, was not even a symptom, of rebellious disposition. Ghibeline Pisa made such conventions as freely as Guelph Genoa, with foreign cities and foreign potentates, both Christian and Moslem. Will it be said that loyal Pisa was influenced, if unconsciously, by sympathy with Lombard passions; whilst Marseilles, and the other commercial towns of the South of France, most of them parties to such treaties, had plainly discovered republican tendencies? Then let Barcelona's acts be adduced in evidence of the fact. Barcelona avowedly and really subject, first to her Earls, and then to the Kings of Aragon, when the marriage of Earl Raymond to Queen Petronilla united the county and the Kingdom, had commercial treaties of her own with Pisa, Marseilles, and other parties.

(44) p. 94. Muratori.

(45) p. 94. Voigt.

(46) p. 97. Id.

(47) p. 97. Morena, Muratori. Voigt says the discrepancy between different writers extends upon this point to from 1700 to 15,000 men; but the last seems mere idle exaggeration.

(48) p. 99. Since no Emperor could after his coronation be required to take an oath, except, as before said, to clear himself of heresy, to the Pope, these oaths of Frederic's must have been chiefly designed to exalt Pascal in the eyes of the Romans.

(49) p. 101. A controversy subsists among both German and Italian historians as to which Henry, IV or V, is meant. The greater number opine for the father; but Luden, adopting the views of the minority, reasonably argues that the last of a name would more naturally than his predecessor be thus spoken of as the only one; and that Henry V's death occurring soon after Matilda's, when the cities were beginning to struggle for enfranchisement, was an epoch more favourable to their pretensions than his father's.

(50) p. 103. Muratori.

(51) p. 103. Otto de S. Blasio.

(52) p. 104. Muratori.

(53) p. 106. Of this confederacy against Henry the Lion, old Helmold calls Archbishop Reginald the soul, even from Italy. Hence Luden argues that Frederic—the trusty prelate being only his instrument—had projected and organized the whole, in order to crush his dreaded and, therefore, hated

kinsman, whilst his own absence from Germany would seemingly acquit him of complicity. He further takes it for granted, that bribes and promises were lavishly employed to get up such a hostile confederacy. The anti-imperialist historian's inference is hardly warranted by the Guelph chronicler's statement. That the Archbishop, as one of the princes who had suffered from the Duke's aggressions, may have known of the confederacy, and encouraged the allies to take the opportunity of the Emperor's absence for redressing their own wrongs, is not unlikely; not so that bribes should be needed to induce men to attempt the recovery of property violently torn from them. But such underhand plotting appears as alien to the character of Barbarossa, as is the forbearance of his supposed dupes from reproaches, when he almost took his cousin's part against them, to the usual conduct of men deserted by their seducer. Not one of them is said to have taunted him with treachery.

(54) p. 106. A German old saw asserts: "Es lebt sich gutunter dem Krummstab;" Anglice, "'Tis good living under the Crosier."

(55) p. 109. Hallam.

(56) p. 110. Some historians suppress the offer of the heritage—perhaps deeming it superfluous to the natural heir—merely making Welf request, and Henry refuse, pecuniary assistance. One of them, Luden, even grounds that refusal upon the nephew's moral repugnance to encourage his uncle in a vicious course—admitting, at the same time, that the nephew's own morality was far from austere—and, not at all, upon either resentment of Welf's attempt at usurping Bavaria, or reluctance to disburse money.

(57) p. 111. Modern German historians, as Pfister and Raumer, so designate the subordinate colleague and successor of the reigning emperor in the twelfth century; and, in the next, the title was certainly borne by this Henry's grandson, to whom it is given by Villani, almost his contemporary.

(58) p. 111. Pfister.

(59) p. 112. This feudal right, evidently as much envied by those who possessed it not, as valued by those to whom it was a source of profit, seems to have been most comprehensively assumed by Milan, in regard to the towns she inthralled. At least Testa asserts that, in the days of her sovereignty, no Lodesan of either sex could marry without permission from the Milanese magistracy.

(60) p. 112. Hormayr thus gives the designations of these wealthy franklins: Die Reichsfreien oder Dynasten (viri summæ ingenuæ libertatis, Domini, Domicilli, Barones regni) manchmal sogar, Dei gratia.

(61) p. 112. Vol. i, p. 52.

(62) p. 116. Thierry. Michelet.

(63) p. 116. This Papal pretension did not originate either in the meanness of John Lackland, or the perplexities of his father; but, if hitherto permitted to slumber, had been prepared by Hildebrand. William of Normandy

had appealed to Pope Alexander II to sanction his invasion of England, upon the plea of his object being to punish the sacrilegious perjury, by which Harold had defrauded him, and recover the stolen bequest of Edward the Confessor; when, at Hildebrand's suggestion, Alexander immediately excommunicated Harold, authorized William to reduce England to the obedience of the Holy See—no word be it noted of heresy or schism needing conversion—and sent him a consecrated banner and ring; thus, according to Thierry's authorities, giving him investiture of the kingdom, as though it were a country to be reconquered from the Heathen. The claim was not advanced, or even mentioned, until circumstances favoured its assertion.

(64) p. 118. Scott's Dugald Dalgetty.

(65) p. 122. Raumer; Voigt.

(66) p. 128. Luden, Vita Alexandri. Romoaldus Salernitanus, and Ser Raul, who ascribes the perfidy to Frederic's being, "Accensus ira et dolore Longobardorum qui erant in loco." Muratori, in his ANNALI D'ITALIA, adopts the same view, upon the authority of Otto de Blas.

(67) p. 128. The naturally Guelph, Nicolas Cardinal of Aragon, who, Muratori says, interwove (*intexuit*) contemporaneous biographies in his COMMENTARIO of the Popes, and whose every expression marks his party zeal, makes no allusion to treachery. His words, or those of the equally Guelph, older writer, upon whom he relied for Alexander III's life, are worth quoting as those of an enemy. "Cum autem neque terroribus, neque blanditiis, neque promissionibus, Cives ipsos ad deditionem inclinare nulla tenus posset, subterraneos meatus occultè fieri fecit, per quos civitatem ipsam ex improviso intrare speravit atque invadere. Sed, resistente Domino, inde perniciosam jacturam incurrere meruit." Could he have said perfidè, would the Cardinal have been content with occulté?

(68) p. 128. Raumer, Sigonius.

(69) p. 128. Voigt.

(70) p. 128. Considerable confusion occurs in the numbering of the Ezzelini da Romano, from there being two obscure, as well as early, so named, whom some writers reckon as the first and second; whilst others admit only the second as Ezzelino I; and Maurisio, overlooking both, calls Ezzelino the Stammerer, Ezzelino I. Hence it is most convenient to distinguish them by their surnames.

(71) p. 132. Weber.

(72) p. 133. Raumer, Avent. annal. Baiersche Chronik, in Freibergs historischen Schriften. Böttiger observes that Henry the Lion's Duchess, and William II of Sicily's Queen, were sisters, as a sufficient reason for the Duke's declining to become a party in this war. But, even if William's marriage with Joanna of England were already celebrated, which it does not appear to have been till the following year, the King took too little share in the war to allow

the suggestion much weight. Voigt quotes another Guelph chronicler, Arnold Chron. Slav., who explains Henry's refusal now, and the preceding year, when Frederic was collecting his forces, upon the plea that the Emperor had tried to seduce some of the Duke's vassals during his pilgrimage; but brings no proof of the charge. It must be added, that the astute dialectician, and decided anti-imperialist, Luden, who would fain strip history of all pleasing legends, asserts this whole scene to be fictitious, denying even that Frederic especially sought his relation's aid upon the present occasion. A strange omission assuredly it would have been not to apply for help in extremity of need, to him who could best afford it. Luden's chief argument is, that Frederic did not afterwards swell the ranks of Henry's accusers, contenting himself with his proper place of President of the Supreme judicial and legislative body, the Imperial Diet, whose office it was to judge between accusers and accused.

(73) p. 136. Voigt.

(74) p. 137. Is it worth naming, that Luden, always on the look-out for deep Machiavellian policy, regards this whole transaction as a comedy played by the Pope and the Emperor to dupe the Lombards? This historian being favourable to Alexander, only whilst the Pope is the Emperor's enemy.

(75) p. 138. Muratori.

(76) p. 138. Raumer, Dumont, 100, Urk. 172. Ludec.

(77) p. 140. Voigt.

(78) p. 140. Buckley's GREAT CITIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

(79) p. 142. Böttiger.

(80) p. 145. Luden, Arnold Lubei.

(81) p. 147. Whether these arch-offices were finally allotted and made hereditary at the breaking up of this too formidable duchy of Saxony, or, a little later, at the celebrated Mainz festival of A.D. 1184, seems not quite certain, and is not very material; but the doubt itself is an argument that may be added to those previously adduced against their then conveying electoral rights.

(82) p. 148. Hormayr. The Dukes of Meran having large territorial possessions in the Tyrol, the Tyrolese Meran has been usually supposed their especial dukedom. But recent researches have shown that this Meran was always the property of the Earls of the Tyrol; and as the house of Andechs had also large possessions in Dalmatia and Istria, the prevalent opinion has latterly been in favour of a town or district of the same name in Istria.

(83) p. 149. The very quarrel of the King and Hotspur, in the FIRST PART OF HENRY IV.

(84) p. 154. Hallam.

(85) p. 155. Muratori says, in "i più scabrosi."

(86) p. 156. Luden. Muratori would fain insinuate that the Emperor was actuated by resentment of Christian's recent services to Alexander, but shows no ground, in Frederic's conduct, for the supposition.

(87) p. 158. Denina.

(88) p. 159. Even some modern liberals appear to think this treaty conceded a very satisfactory degree of liberty. The Piedmontese Ricotti, in his STORIA DELLE COMPAGNIE DI VENTURA IN ITALIA, says, "Nel trattato di Costanza venne a' Communi accordata quanta indipendenza sarebbe stata piucchè bastevole a farli grandi e felici, se pari alla fortezza avessero avuto la modestia, ed all' ardire contro i nemici esteriori la prudenza verso gl'interiori."

(89) p. 161. Schmidt.

(90) p. 165. James; who has already been shown to labour under some confusion touching the visits of the Archbishops of Cologne to England. (P. 499, note 34.)

(91) p. 161. Capecelatro.

(92) p. 168. That the Guelph, or rather Papistical Baronius, admits Constance not to have been a nun, has been stated; and the moderately Guelph Muratori treats even the idea of her having been destined to take the veil as a fable; averring that no contemporaries allude to anything of the kind, whilst some of them speak of her having grown up amidst the luxuries of the Sicilian palace. The Ghibeline Dante, on the other hand, positively asserts that she was a nun, or at least a novice; and "Contra suo grado, e contra buona usanza," (Purgatorio, Canto 3, v. 113,) taken from her convent to be married. And, owing chiefly to Dante's genius and evident Ghibelinism, this has long been the popular opinion. The above stated Guelph admissions might, perhaps, suffice to refute it, and to prove that Frederic Barbarossa did not, tempted by the chance of a kingdom, sacrilegiously seek an apostate nun for the wife of his son; but the course of events so decidedly clears him, that a summary of these proofs may be admissible. A nun *could not* have married without a papal dispensation, which, certainly, neither Lucius III nor Urban III granted; and had a dispensation by Sicilian and German bishops been substituted, Urban could not have overlooked such an usurpation of papal authority, when he deposed all the prelates who officiated at the marriage. Nor, indeed, had the bride been even a novice, could he have omitted specifically to notice such an aggravation of the offence of merely officiating at a marriage to which he objected. Innocent III would hardly have accepted the necessarily illegitimate child of an apostate nun as a ward of the Church; nor would Popes hostile to that child, Frederic II, have omitted to brand him with such palpable illegitimacy. With respect to Dante, a few words may be allowed, tending to explain the startling fact, that the Ghibeline poet not only believed and propagated this and other calumnious Guelph gossip, but despite his hatred for the Capetian race, shows

indulgence to the one of that race for whom its warmest friends hardly attempt an apology; namely, Charles of Anjou. The fact is, that Dante was originally and naturally a Guelph. Not only did he live, till between thirty and forty years of age, and hold office, in Guelph Florence, but his family had been twice banished for Guelphism, when the Ghibelines had the ascendancy. In those thirty years, he heard and believed this Guelph scandal, and formed his opinion upon all the past accordingly. When the Guelphs split into the Bianchi and Neri (Whites and Blacks), or the moderate and the ultra-Guelphs, he adhered to the former, who were called Ghibelines by their antagonists. With them he was banished, outlawed, and plundered; and, the exiles of different shades and even different parties associating, the Bianchi, exasperated against their former friends, became more or less Ghibeline, Dante with the rest. But this new Ghibelinism would not affect previously formed and long established opinions; so that he judged and felt of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a Guelph, of the incipient fourteenth as a Ghibeline: and censured the Frederics for doing what he censured the Henrys and Lewises for omitting to do. For the Poet's indulgent view of the tyrannical usurper Charles of Anjou, there was another cause, besides his early Guelphism. He had visited Naples, as Embassador from Florence; Charles II, the son of Charles of Anjou, with his son Charles Martel, King of Hungary in right of his mother, had visited Florence, where the latter sojourned a second time; and, upon all these occasions, the Angevine-Neapolitan heir of Hungary had associated intimately with the Florentine Poet, inspiring him with a warm friendship. Could he be otherwise than lenient towards the grandfather of his royal friend? It must have required all the offences of which Philip le Bel was then still incurring the guilt, to prevent his forgiving all the Capets.

(93) p. 170. Denina.

(94) p. 170. Napier.

(95) p. 171. Stenzel says, that Frederic secured the support of Otho II of Brandenburg, by making him mesne Lord of Pomerania. But Waldemar had deemed the Pomeranian Princes his vassals, and they still claimed to be immediate vassals of the Empire. In fact, some degree of uncertainty seems to hang over their condition at this time.

(96) p. 176. Wilken, Wil. Tyr. Michaud argues that the Templars could not be thus rapacious, because they had highly distinguished themselves during the siege:—a somewhat inconclusive syllogism, that might equally acquit the Buccaneers of robbery. The Histoire des Templiers, in like manner, would fain logically refute the accusation; and Raumer, in a second edition, holds the exclusion of the rest of the army abundantly explained by the despatch with which the Saracens repaired the breach. But the Archbishop

is high authority; and it may be observed that no attempt from without, to relieve the Templars within the walls, is mentioned.

(97) p. 184. Baron Haxthausen, a Russianized German, in his 'TRANSCAUCASIA,' a work known only in translation, says that a Prince named Rupin, of the Armenian royal family, deposed A.D. 1097, emigrating with his partizans, conquered Cilicia, and there established a new kingdom of Armenia; to wit, the Lesser Armenia. The Baron's account rests upon *vivâ voce* authority, and is, of course, the Armenian version of the Greek account, but, till established by documents can only be regarded as tradition, without weight against contemporary history.

(98) p. 190. Wilken, Wil. Tyr.

(99) p. 191. The most erudite Orientalist of our crusade-historians, Wilken, thus speaks of Saladin: "Respecting few great men has contemporary evidence been so unanimous. The Christians, against whom he so indefatigably, and, for the most part, so successfully fought, and the Mohammedans, whom his valour so powerfully defended, whose Faith he honoured and exalted, with one voice proclaimed him magnanimous as brave; and that most chivalrous of kings, the lion-hearted Anglo-Norman Richard, esteemed him worthy of knighthood. If Moslems sang the praises of his pure zeal for Islam, and his scrupulous observance of its precepts, Christians admired his honour, uprightness, and humanity to his captive enemies. From this last virtue he never swerved, unless provoked to reprisals by Christian cruelty or Christian breach of faith." This eulogist might have added, "or religious zeal," as will be seen in due time. Whether Saladin accompanied his uncle upon this his first Egyptian campaign, or only upon the next, is another of the points in dispute amongst historians; that he did, seems most consonant to occurrences respecting which there is no question.

(100) p. 195. Addison.

(101) p. 196 Vol. i, p. 147, and note 160.

(102) p. 197. Funcke. The mis-spelling of this name, or, more properly, the mistake of the name of Funk, a philosophic writer, for C. W. F. von Funcke, the orientalist and historian, was unfortunately overlooked in vol. i.

(103) p. 197. Hammer-Purgstall.

(104) p. 200. Vol. i, p. 20.

(105) p. 203. This is Wilken's description of the payment, for which he cites William of Tyre. It seems very strange; but that of other writers, who call it interest upon a debt, is more so.

(106) p. 203. Hammer-Purgstall.

(107) p. 203. Wilken, Wil. Tyr.

(108) p. 207. Hammer-Purgstall says more; "the first Moslem hospital known." But this, after hearing of Noureddin's charitable institutions, to

say nothing of probable establishments of the same kind in Moslem Spain, seems so incredible, that he must be conjectured to have meant either the first in Egypt, or the first so amply provided.

(109) p. 209. This seems to be the first mention of Mamelukes: and it may be presumed that Saladin, not finding a national army in Egypt, that could render himself independent of Noureddin's Kurds and Turks, sought to supply the want by forming this corps. As yet they were only his body-guard, and are described as clad, like himself, in yellow—the earliest idea, perhaps, of an uniform. Hammer-Purgstall says, the word Mameluke means slave; if so, it is a curious instance of a name marking degradation, retained by bold ambitious warriors in their triumphant prosperity.

(110) p. 210. Ante, p. 184.

(111) p. 211. Wilken, Abulfaradge, Abulfeda. James, Ibn Alatir, Abu Shami. Reinaud; from whose version of Saladin's letter the following passages are taken: "The Giaours have violated the asylum and cradle of Islam; have profaned our sanctuary. If, as Allah forefend! we should not prevent another such insult, we should be guilty in the eyes of God and man. * * * Let us purge the earth of these men who dishonour it. Let us purge the air, which their breath contaminates. They are vowed to death." No mention of annual sacrifices of sheep, so contrary to the general notion of the rites of Islam, is here found. But Reinaud, to whom we owe the letter, distinctly says, always speaking upon the authority of Arab authors, reviewed, as it were, in Michaud's Bibliothèque des Croisades—from whom his book is drawn—that at Mecca the pilgrims slaughtered these prisoners, in lieu of the usual sacrifice of sheep and lambs.

(112) p. 211. Reinaud.

(113) p. 212. James says, at Easter; but in that season of rejoicing, what impropriety could there be in a wedding? And he ascribes the precipitation to Bohemund of Antioch's arrival in Jerusalem. Can any old chronicler have supposed that Bohemund, already the husband of one living wife, if not of a second, came to insist upon having the presumptive heiress of Palestine, as another, whether second or third? And that, with a prospect of success? It should be added that Michaud, who casts such a suspicion upon Sibylla, avows that he relies upon the single authority of Benedict of Peterborough.

(114) p. 213. Funcke.

(115) p. 215. Vinisauf's Itinerarium, translated in Chronicles of the Crusades.

(116) p. 216. Funcke.

(117) p. 223. Reinaud, in excuse of the injudicious abandonment of the course decided upon, states, that Saladin burnt the suburbs of Tiberias, for the express purpose of drawing Guy from his strong position, by fears for the town, and even for the castle.

(118) p. 224. The allegation of the enemies of Raymond, that his charge

through the Moslem host and subsequent flight were preconcerted with Saladin, might, perhaps, be sufficiently rebutted by recalling his advice in the Council of War:—advice manifestly honest, because endangering the wife to whom he was devotedly attached, and her children—so beloved by him that he was generally believed to be the true father of his nominal step-sons;—and which would have rendered such traitorous desertion impossible. He is, however, further exculpated by the letter of a Cadi, which, giving an account of the battle, ends the tale of Raymond's charge and flight, with an adjuration to Allah to curse him. Surely the Cadi thought him an enemy. The utmost blame to which the Earl is fairly liable, is that he did not strain every nerve for the army; persevering in a really hopeless attempt to avert the ruinous consequences of weakness or rashness. And it was hardly to be expected that a man of uncurbed temper, angry at the rejection of his advice, should make a desperate struggle, should charge back again, in order to perish with the King who had offended him, and with the man he hated, who had just triumphed over him, the Grand-Master of the Templars.

(119) p. 224. Wilken, chiefly upon the authority of Vinisauf, Coggeshall, and Hoveden, says that the True Cross was part of the Moslem booty at Hittin. Other writers assert that it was there buried to preserve it, and the precise spot where it was deposited forgotten. The former account is confirmed by Bohaeddin, who explicitly states that it was taken, and the testimony of Saladin's friend is, and ought to be, decisive upon the subject; besides which it will appear in the progress of the narrative to have been in the Sultan's possession; whilst the silence of other Arab writers is fully explained by their contempt for the object of a reverence, which they considered as idolatry.

(120) p. 225. Vinisauf. Prior to his arrival in Palestine with Richard, he can, indeed, only vouch for what he relates being a current report; but if Baron Reichenbach's odyle theory be admitted, the phenomenon need not be deemed supernatural.

(121) p. 232. A sort of joint-tenancy, when arising by inheritance called *Ganerben*, but often a merely voluntary, really socialist, association.

(122) p. 234. Pfister.

(123) p. 234. Luden, upon the authority of old Arnold of Lubeck, says—the proposal was, that Henry should ratify the confiscation of his duchy, make the Crusade at the Emperor's expense, and receive all back at their return. A somewhat inconsistent scheme, but which the Duke would surely have caught at, considering the end; whilst it is impossible to suppose the Diet and the Emperor willing to reconstruct the formidable power they had so carefully broken up, or the princes thereby enriched, to resign their grants.

(124) p. 237. Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.

(125) p. 238. Such are the letters given by Vinisauf, and accepted by Wilken, who further says that Saladin was much alarmed at the impending

crusade. A feeling, scarcely in harmony with his demand of these three important places, pretty nearly the whole remainder of the Syro-Frank states. The whole negotiation is unnoticed by Oriental writers, and denied by Luden, because the letters in question are manifestly fabrications; the pseudo-Saladin's calling Islam Paganism, whilst the pseudo-Frederic's is absurdly pompous and rhetorical, besides being incorrect in various representations touching Germany. But of the mission of Heinrich von Diech to Saladin, to declare war, a ceremony Frederic was too truly chivalrous to omit, there is no doubt; and the un-Moslem language of Saladin's epistle may possibly lie at the translator's door. Or, indeed, as State Papers were not then, as now, published, or archives opened to literary research, the letters found in the old chroniclers may be rejected, as unquestionably factitious, without implying the least doubt of real letters, to the same effect, though differently worded, having passed.

(126) p. 240. Fessler.

(127) p. 243. Unless Kuman is to be taken as a sort of generic designation, applied in the Christian states of Eastern Europe to all their Tartar neighbours indiscriminately; which, from its frequent recurrence, in connexion with Russia, Poland, Hungary, and the Greek Empire, might seem to be the case.

(128) p. 244. Raumer.

(129) p. 244. It seems remarkable that, whilst the Truce of God enjoined abstinence from private feuds upon *every* Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, in commemoration of Good Friday and Easter Sunday, those most hallowed days themselves rarely appear to have interrupted public hostilities. It may be worthy of notice relative to this subject, that the devout Saladin held it desirable to give battle upon a Friday, the Moslem Sabbath, and at the hour of public worship, that he might fight whilst all Mohammedans were putting up prayers for blessings upon Mohammedan arms.

(130) p. 240. Funcke.

(131) p. 251. Vinisauf. Raumer, Cogges. Hemingford, Guil. Neubrig.

(132) p. 252. Wilkin, Otto de S. Blas, Jac. de Vitry, Bohaeddin, Abulfeda, Abulfaradge. Vinisauf deems this last account insulting. He says: "At si libido natandi, ut plerique asserunt, mortis causam intulisse dicatur, ipsius viri gravitas in contrarium disputat; nec fidem meretur, quod tantorum salutem natator invalidus, undis fallacibus commisisset."

(133) p. 253. Upon that character there can be no need here to expatiate. Henri de Blois, who as a Frenchman had no especial partiality for a German Emperor, calls Frederic Barbarossa, "A strong lion, whose majestic countenance and mighty arm, scared wild beasts from their prey, and bowed rebels to the yoke." And Tiraboschi, whose prejudices as an Italian must be anti-Teutonic, describes Frederic, as a "Principe di magnanimi spiriti e d'indole

generosa, e che dovrebbe essere annoverato tra i piu famosi sovrani, se la rea condizione de' tempi, il trasporto dell' impetuoso suo sdegno, e lo scisma, da lui lungamente fomentata e sostenuta, non l'avesser condotto spesso a tai passi e a tali risoluzioni, cui, segonda la naturale sua rettitudine, avrebb' egli stesso, in altre circostanze, disapprovato." Sismondi's character of Frederic Barbarossa has been previously given: and Mariotti, a modern revolutionary Italian, if he does not eulogize this Emperor, speaks of his wars against Alexander III, and the Lombard League, as the natural result of circumstances, rather than of any unreasonable ambition on his part.

(134) p. 257. "Si Christianus esse non vult, homo Diaboli sit." This account is taken from James, who quotes Bromton, and alludes to other contemporary chroniclers, as corroborating his statement. But it must be added that Buckley, in his GREAT CITIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES, says, Richard drove the unwilling convert out of his presence, to the ill-usage of which he died; whilst some contemporaries depict this massacre as one of the older fashion; *e.g.*, Richard of Devizes, who calls it "a sacrifice of Jews to their father the Devil."

(135) p. 263. Vinisauf.

(136) p. 264. Vinisauf says, Philip required that his banner should supersede Richard's. But this, which was not attempted at Acre, seems so impossible a demand, one Richard's yielding to which was so utterly impossible, that the more ordinary account has been preferred. Probably the crusading Chronicler did not, like a modern journalist, write up his diary evening by evening, trusting to his memory when at home again; and might not always be accurate in recollection.

(137) p. 265. Here Richard was certainly in the right, be it observed; Philip not being entitled to service, or, consequently, obedience from his royal vassal. The Dukes of Normandy owed the Kings of France not *liege homage*, which implied these, but *homagium per paragium*, or simple homage, a mere acknowledgment of feudal superiority; the homage usually due by sovereign princes, holding fiefs of other princes or of vassals. Hallam.

(138) p. 266. James.

(139) p. 269. Wilken, Funcke, Michaud, upon the authority mainly of Vinisauf, Bernardus Thesaurarius, and Bohaeddin. The last adds to the oath, that Guy, upon abdicating, should immediately quit Syria for Europe, and he and his twelve companions hold themselves evermore Saladin's slaves. The worthy Cadi ends with an adjuration to Allah to punish the unbelieving King's perjury. The Sultan's breach of faith, in demanding further payment for that, the price of which, viz., Ascalon, he had already received, no one notices except Vinisauf; and the somewhat illogical remarks, with which Michaud dismisses the transaction, are too odd to be passed over in silence. They are, that

Saladin probably never expected Guy to keep his oath, and really released him lest a better king should be elected; yet detained him beyond the appointed time, and made him swear to leave the throne vacant for that better king!

(140) p. 271. James, Bohaeddin.

(141) p. 271. Bohaeddin estimates Guy's army at 2,000 horse, and 30,000 foot, but must either speak of a later period of the siege, or desire to conceal the small number of the Christians who checked his master's triumphant career.

(142) p. 271. Wilken.

(143) p. 277. Michaud. The Duke of Austria's enmity to Richard Cœur-de-Lion makes it an English historian's duty, in fairness, to mention the statement; though it is difficult to believe either that a man in full armour could perform such a feat, or that, in those days, a knight would assault a castle divested of his armour.

(143*) p. 278. A curious argument, highly illustrative of the view then taken of female succession; treating Sibylla's birthright rather as a motive for electing her husband, than as investing her with hereditary sovereignty; the exercise of which, with its duties, she was, in those days, expected to delegate to him. It is equally illustrative of the mystic virtue then attributed both to the material crown, and to the actual coronation.

(144) p. 279. Conrad has been charged with polygamy instead of bigamy; with having left his real wife in Italy, whilst marrying, first, an Imperial Princess of Constantinople, and then the lawful Queen of Jerusalem. But the charge is absurd. That he had been married in Montferrat, is certain, since that was the sole reason of his younger brother's being selected for the husband of the Emperor Manuel's daughter; but it is equally certain that he must have been a widower, when, at Montferrat, he was publicly contracted to the Emperor Isaac's sister; and it was to complete his marriage with this princess, that he went to Constantinople, instead of accompanying his father to Palestine.

(145) p. 281. Vol. i, p. 24.

(146) p. 282. Weber.

(147) p. 282. Id., Wachsmuth.

(148) p. 285. Wilken; Nicetas.

(149) p. 287. Richard is very commonly accused by modern writers, especially French and German, of cruelly paltering with Isaac "in a double sense," keeping "the word of promise to the ear, breaking it to his hope," when he put silver chains upon him. But James shews that, according to the statement of Hoveden, Bromton, and William of Newbury, the prayer of the faithless tyrant explicitly was not to be disgraced by *iron* fetters; to which the conqueror replied, "For the sake of your dignity, your fetters shall be silver." Vinisauf gives the same request, "Not to be put in irons," without

explanation; but adds, that Richard was touched, raised him to a seat beside his own, sent for the emperor's little daughter, to soothe him with her caresses, and put him into, not iron, but silver chains.

(150) p. 287. So strange a species of ammunition as snakes, would naturally be rejected by modern inquirers as an absurd popular rumour, did it not rest upon the authority of an eye-witness, Vinisauf, corroborated by Jacques de Vitry, as well as by Radevicus. Wilken accepts their statements as unquestionable.

(151) p. 288. James.

(152) p. 289. Vinisauf.

(153) p. 289. Richard of Devizes, in CHRONICLE OF CRUSADES.

(154) p. 293. Mailath, Raumer, Wachsmuth, Otto S. Blas, Godof. Mon. Hemmingf., Bromton, Rigord., Hugo Plagon. Mailath asserts that the Duke, upon receiving the affront, immediately returned home. Yet he is named by contemporary chroniclers as present in most of the subsequent operations; nay, Wachsmuth and Raumer, who adopt this cause of quarrel, allow that he only left the Crusaders at Ascalon. During those movements, it will be seen, that other and more probable causes of offence are stated.

(155) p. 296. Wilken, Guil., Neubrig, Funcke.

(156) p. 296. Id., Hugo Plagon, Ja. de Vitry.

(157) p. 296. Id.

(158) p. 296. Id. Michaud quotes Emmadeddin for Saladin's withholding the Cross, in order to pain the Christians.

(159) p. 297. Wilken.

(160) p. 297. James, Ibn Alatir.

(161) p. 298. Vinisauf thus relates the transaction, in a tone of perfect satisfaction: "King Richard, aspiring to destroy the Turks root and branch, and to punish their wanton arrogance, as well as to abolish the law of Mahomet, and to vindicate the Christian religion, on the Friday after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, ordered 2700 of the Turkish hostages to be led forth from the city and hanged. His soldiers marched forth with delight to fulfil his commands, and to retaliate, with the assent of the Divine Grace, by taking revenge upon those who had destroyed so many of the Christians, with missiles, &c." CHRONICLES OF THE CRUSADES. The translation of the mediæval Latin might be better; but when an English version exists, it seems idle to translate anew, unless the language be a material point, when the original should be given.

(162) p. 298. This prelate, according to Michaud, had bitterly complained of Acre's having been given up to the two Kings, without any booty for the army; whence it may be inferred that he was not disposed to seek the best motives for Richard's conduct.

(163) p. 298. In the next century, these words "ut decuit," will be found

habitually used in speaking of the far more cruel execution of heretics, their cremation.

(164) p. 298. Michaud says, that, some Arab authors impute the chief blame upon this occasion to their admired Saladin, for continuing to procrastinate, after Richard's threats of the terrible consequences should the terms longer remain unfulfilled.

(165) p. 299. This slaughter seems at first sight actually incompatible with the inviolability stated, apropos of Chatillon's death, to be consequent upon the giving meat or drink to a captive. But a moment's reflexion shews that, to produce such inviolability, the meat or drink must be given by the hand, or at the express command, of the sovereign, or of the captor. Else all prisoners of war must become inviolable, or die of hunger within the first fortnight.

(166) p. 300. The words are given by Vinisauf, "Sanctum Sepulchrum adjuva!" strange as to modern ideas it seems to call upon that for help which had been so unable to help itself, as to require the aid of this very European army for a chance of relief from thraldom.

(167) p. 303. In this rage, some modern French and German writers sympathize; although the anti-English and anti-Richard Michaud lauds the wisdom of the retrograde movement; and Wilken, after ascribing it to Richard's levity, ultimately allows the weight of the reasons upon which it was decided.

(168) p. 304. Wilken, Raumer, Michaud, Bromton. Whether the Duke meant this insolent answer to insinuate any mistrust of Queen Elinor's connubial fidelity to the unfaithful husband of her choice, that might palliate her son's intemperate resentment, is not said. It is somewhat remarkable that Vinisauf mentions neither quarrel with the Duke of Austria nor that prince's desertion of the Crusade: and, yet more, does not name him even relative to the seizure and imprisonment of Richard upon his return, which he imputes solely to French intrigue. But upon that disastrous return he is very short; and, as he evidently did not accompany the royal Crusader, no authority.

(169) p. 305. James, Ibn Alatir.

(170) p. 306. It must not be concealed that James and Michaud quote Moslem authority against the Sultan, Michaud more generally; James, Ibn Alatir, who, he says, distinctly states that Saladin offered the Sheik of the Assassins 10,000 gold pieces to rid him of Richard and Conrad; and that the Sheah Sheik offered to kill one of them; but would not free the abhorred Soonee Sultan from both his enemies, well knowing that, if undisturbed Sovereign of Egypt and Syria, he would at once exterminate himself and his Assassins. But were this true, would not the Sheik have published the offer as a blot upon the reputation of the heretic hero?

(171) p. 306. To the usual grounds upon which the murder is imputed to Richard, Bernardus Thesaurarius adds, that Marquess Conrad had offended him by refusing to marry his sister. Conrad, who had married Queen Isabel before

Richard set foot in Palestine, and, as her husband, had long been acknowledged by Richard as Guy's successor—though not his supplanter—upon the throne.

(172) p. 307. Wilken.

(173) p. 307. Campbell's LIVES OF THE CHANCELLORS.

(174) p. 307. Mills.

(175) p. 309. Wilken.

(176) p. 309. Id. Matt. Paris. Joinville.

(177) p. 310. Joinville. Richard's conduct of the Crusade is still, as before said, a topic for bitter censure to French and German—not military—writers. That, haughty and self-willed as he shewed himself, he was little adapted to the command of an army of independent volunteers, or for cordial co-operation with such a suzerain as Philip, and that, in all periods of inaction, he indulged a boyish passion for idle adventure, is undeniable. But it is equally so, that during his Palestine campaigns he displayed all the generalship of the age, sacrificing his personal inclinations, and even that boyish passion, to considerations of prudence, in a degree not to have been expected from his nature. Also, that Saladin fully concurred in the opinion, that possession of the sea coast was indispensable to the existence of the Christian Kingdom, especially to the preservation of the city of Jerusalem when taken; as he proved, by destroying the fortresses which, since the loss of Acre, he could not hope to defend against the Crusaders, and felt to be, in their hands, dangerous to his own retention of Jerusalem. But this is a consideration easily overlooked by French rashness in pursuing a favourite project. Surely the reputation Richard left in Syria amongst the Mohamedans might be deemed sufficient argument that he did not act there like a petted child. It must be added, that, of the two accusations brought against the Duke of Burgundy, one, that of caballing successively with the Prince of Tyre, and with the Sultan, is as destitute of probability as of foundation. The Duke's interest, or his master's, was diametrically opposed to theirs; Philip wanted to keep Richard in Syria that he might steal his French possessions; Conrad and Saladin, to get out of Syria the only enemy they feared. The other, of grudging Richard the glory of recovering Jerusalem from the misbelievers, and therefore counteracting him, is less improbable, and rests upon better authority. Bernardus Thesaurarius, the continuator of the Archbishop's history, and certainly no anti-Gallican, lays it directly to his charge.

(178) p. 310. Vinisauf.

(179) p. 311. Richard is said in those days to have been pronounced Rickard—whence Melek Rik was the cry raised—was "the word of fear," with which Syrian mothers long frightened their mutinous urchins into obedience, while Syrian cavaliers asked their starting coursers, "Dost think Melek Rik is there?" as recorded by Bernardus Thesaurarius.

(180) p. 314. Some writers make the time five years, five months, five weeks, five days, and five hours. The addition of a regular gradation of shorter periods, governed by the numeral of the years, being characteristic of a fanciful age, seems more important than the precise length of the truce.

(181) p. 315. Michaud, Wilken. Vinisauf says 300,000, and Bohaeddin, according to Mills, 600,000.

(182) p. 315. For the appreciation of infantry Michaud is the authority; not for its resting upon the excellence of the English archery; the memorandum concerning which has been lost in a wandering life, and the work whence it was taken has unluckily slipped from the writer's memory.

(183) p. 316. Readers who are familiar with the German language may not be sorry to see a stanza of one of the juvenile love-songs of the tyrant Henry VI, which has been preserved, and is published, modernizing the orthography, if nothing more, by Vogt, in his RHEINISCHE SAGEN UND GESCHICHTE:—

"Ich grüsse mit Gesange die Süssen
Die ich vermeiden nicht will noch vermag,
Da ich sie von Munde recht möchte grüssen,
Ach! da ist leider so mannich Tag.
Wer nun dies Lied singe von ihr,
Der ich so unsänftlich entbühr,
Es sey Weib oder Mann, der hab' sie gegrüsset von mir."

(183*) p. 319. The words "Vestigia Leonis," are still to be read there.

(184) p. 326. The Genoese historiographer, Caffari, gives, as the words of Henry's letter to the republic, "Si per vos post Deum, Regnum Siciliæ acquisiero, meus erit honor, proficuum erit vestrum. Ego enim in eo cum Teutonicis meis manere non debeo, sed vos et posteri vestri in eo manebitis. Erit utique illud regnum non meum sed vestrum." A letter, supposing it to be correctly copied by Caffari, skilfully and vaguely written, as to what is likely to happen; calculated to awaken expectation of much, without binding the writer to anything. The actual grants are of a later date, and will appear in their proper place.

(185) p. 328. Modern Italian writers have rejected this story as contemptuously as can any German.

(186) p. 331. Luden adopts the old Guelph assertion that Lothar was poisoned by the Emperor's orders, and that only by flight did Henry the Younger escape the same fate. Henry VI's character bore not the stamp of that pure and lofty chivalrousness, which is in itself the refutation of such calumny; but, if a tyrant, he was a rational being; not the tyrant of early Italian tragedy: and far too sagacious a politician to risk, for the mere plea-

sure of committing a couple of murders, robbing himself of the power by which he coerced a dangerous enemy into tranquillity and submission.

(187) p. 335. Baluzius says, that "inter ipsa coronationis solemnia, suggerente Diabolo, ad aspectum ipsius coepit vehementer horrescere, tremere ac pallere, ut nimium perturbatus vix sustinere posset finem solemnitatis."

(188) p. 339. It is probable that a papal dispensation from the bar of consanguinity had been secured when the marriage was projected; otherwise the union of second cousins, being unlawful, could not be difficult to dissolve.

(189) p. 340. This is another of the agreeable legends that the pyrrhonism of a modern historic school denies and argues away. Luden asserts that Henry VI planned the marriage, as a mode of converting dangerous enemies into useful friends; and that its secret solemnization was a device to avoid both delay and expense, by previous negotiations, and the pompous festivities.

(190) p. 340. Raumer, Denina, Luden. The last asserts that Tancred, shocked at her treacherous capture, instantly released Constance, making it his only condition that she should visit the Pope and bear witness to his magnanimity. Now as it does not appear that the Empress did so visit the Pope, and as it is pretty certain that she did not for many months rejoin the Emperor, while there is no conceivable motive for her failing to perform so easy a condition, and no account given of how she spent the time between her supposed release and her return to Germany—perfectly intelligible if she remained a prisoner at Palermo—Luden's account must be considered as the least probable of the three.

(191) p. 343. It appears, that various places in Dalmatia claim a visit from the lion-hearted Crusader upon this disastrous occasion. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, in his DALMATIA AND MONTENEGRO, tells us, he was assured that Richard not only visited Ragusa, but founded its Cathedral; which, however, has since been burnt down, if it was not rather destroyed in the tremendous earthquake of 1667, in which 6000 Ragusans perished. Mr. Paton, in his HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF THE ADRIATIC, gives a Ragusan traditionary detail of the visit, pretty in itself, but inconsistent with Richard's plan of passing unknown. The Lion-heart, it is averred, during the storm that threatened him with shipwreck, vowed to build a church to the Virgin, wherever he should land in safety; to have so landed upon Chroma, a small island close to Ragusa, and announced himself and his pious intention to the Superior of a Monastery, there established; but to have been prevailed upon by the Ragusan Senate to accept the hospitality of their republic, and transfer his church thither, where it was much wanted.

(192) p. 343. Raumer, Rad. a Diceto, Bromton, Dandolo, Cogges., Admont chr., Rigord. Hemmingford, Funcke, Hoveden.

(193) p. 334. The description of Richard's prodigious strength might seem hardly consistent with his constant illnesses after great exertion,

fatigue, or hardships. Or are we to suppose that what the old chroniclers regarded as unparalleled robust vigour, was merely unparalleled power of exertion?

(194) p. 346. Blondel's ministry towards Richard's release is another romance, reasoned away by some historians, and variously told in regard to many of the incidents by others. The argument against it, turns upon the uselessness of concealment towards extorting a ransom, and the publicity of Richard's imprisonment at Trifels. But this is confusing the two periods of Richard's captivity, and his two gaolers, Henry and Leopold. The latter wanted vengeance; wanted to make Richard suffer; and concealed his capture in order to keep him in his power; the Emperor wanted a ransom, and at once treated for it, which of course he could not do without owning that the king was in his hands. Some writers transfer the scene of Blondel's discovering him to Trifels, where Henry placed his captive, and permitted his Chancellor to attend him; perhaps it is this error that has given the whole adventure an air of uselessness. Again the tale is variously told. Some writers making Blondel sing the first verse, as was their wont, and Richard answer; as being probably the way in which the minstrel would seek the royal Troubadour. Wilken omits Blondel, in the narrative of Richard's captivity; but his authority is, as already observed, less high touching the European, than the Asiatic history of the Crusaders. Scheller makes Richard's disguise that of a Templar, probably from finding that such had been his original design; and several chroniclers and later historians assign different localities to some of the incidents. But the strangest view of the whole affair is Luden's, who conceives that Richard traversed Austria in order to offer the Duke his sword, in atonement for the old affront, and assumed the disguise from sheer love of a frolic, without any idea of concealing himself from the enemy he was going to visit; and either at once revealed himself to Leopold, or was only waiting for his convalescence to do so; but that the Duke of Austria had not sufficient magnanimity to appreciate the King's.

(195) p. 348. Eichhorn.

(196) p. 349. Matt. Par.

(197) p. 350. Pfister. It seems a pity to deprive this striking scene of the melo-dramatic *coup de théatre* with which some historians have adorned it:—bringing Richard in chains before the Diet, and making Princes and Emperor tear them off upon hearing his defence. But such a scene is consonant neither with the usual treatment of accused princes by the Diet;—and a king would hardly be subjected to indignities to which it was held unmeet to subject dukes and margraves—nor with the respect paid to Richard at Trifels; nor yet with Richard's own letter to his mother, giving an account of the whole transaction.

(198) p. 350. Pfister, who asserts that the grant was made, and Henry's

object, to have a King of England for his vassal, (um den König von England als Lehenmann betrachten zu dürfen.)

(199) p. 351. Thierry, Rog. de Hoved.

(200) p. 351. Mailath says, that Richard upon his release promised his niece, Elinor of Britany, to the Duke of Austria's eldest son. That no such marriage took place is certain, and it seems unlikely that the angry Lion-heart should contract with his lawless captor—through whom he had so heavy a ransom to pay, part of it to himself—an alliance not only so intimately amicable, but one actually giving a chance of inheriting his crown. Elinor stood next to her brother Arthur in the line of succession. The promise might, however, be extorted like the ransom; and Richard, in the prime of life, think little of his niece's prospects. It is to be observed, that the design of recapturing Richard, to earn the bribes of Philip and John, imputed to Henry by Hume, is treated by German writers as an idle, calumnious rumour, disseminated by malcontent Guelphs, and totally without foundation; yet it alarmed Richard into putting to sea in a storm.

(201) p. 352. Funcke.

(202) p. 352. Raumer, Muratori.

(203) p. 352. Wilken, Ep. Cœlestini Papæ ad Veronensem Episcopum, Ep. Adalberti Archiep. Salzb. ad Papam Cœlestinum; Calles Annal. Austr.; Matt. Par., Bromton, Guil. Neubrig. Rog. de Hov. The observation, that no German historian seems shocked at the savage tenor of Leopold's threat, cannot be omitted. Is his not living to put it in execution, the plea? At all events it marks the habits and feelings of the age.

(204) p. 356. The quarrel shows that, of Gaeta at least, the grant must have been to the two cities jointly.

(205) p. 357. Galangal is an aromatic, bitter root, of old well known in pharmacy, now forgotten.

(206) p. 360. Raumer.

(207) p. 363. Joh. Müller.

(208) p. 363. Giannone.

(209) p. 363. Pfister.

(210) p. 364. Of the princes whose birth has been questioned for want, or in spite, of such precautions, it were needless to remind the reader. But it is proper to state that strange stories of more extraordinary measures adopted by Constance to establish her maternity were once current; which, though now too universally rejected to be admitted into the narrative, may find their place in a note. One is, that her son was born in an open tent in the market-place, in presence of whoever chose to intrude; another, that she exhibited herself in the streets of Palermo, whither she hastened as soon as equal to the journey, with the milk dropping from her uncovered bosom.

(211) p. 365. Capecelatro.

(212) p. 367. Caffari, upon this occasion, observes, that Henry *nerozavit*.

(213) p. 370. The royal claim to the property of deceased priests sprang naturally, like all feudal rights, from the idea that all landed property—with rare exceptions—was held by grant from the crown. And the claim, in the case in question, would be strengthened rather than weakened by the character and spirit of church endowments. The income assigned a churchman was designed to support him respectably, according to his sphere, including a due allowance for charity, and hospitality to wayfarers. All, beyond the sum wanted for these purposes, was expected to be expended upon what may be called supererogatory works of charity and piety, not hoarded to enrich relations.

(214) p. 374. Sharon Turner. Even the tolerant Fatemite Caliphs of Egypt found it impossible to carry out their principles. Hammer-Purgstall relates that the second of the dynasty, in the fulness of manhood's energy, successively raised a Christian and a Jew to the Vizierate, but was forced by his subjects to sanction the execution of both.

(215) p. 375. Hammer-Purgstall.

(216) p. 375. Wilken, Bohaeddin.

(217) p. 376. Id., id.

(218) p. 379. Muratori says, his Chancellor, Conrad Bishop of Würzburg: perhaps confusing, as an Italian was not unlikely to do, the two Conrads, the Emperor's acting Chancellor, with the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, whose high rank in some measure probably entitled him to the command of German crusaders in the Emperor's absence. It was the Emperor's own contingent that was committed to the Bishop of Würzburg.

(219) p. 380. Pfister.

(220) p. 381. Id., Raumer, Sachs.

(221) p. 383. Luden, Urspergensis.

(222) p. 383. Raumer, Daniele.

(223) p. 384. Mozzi dei Capitani.

(224) p. 385. Vol. i, p. 308.

(225) p. 387. Vol. i, p. 315.

(226) p. 389. A Milanese law, dated 1216, sanctions, or authorizes, itself by the words—"Ab imperio omnis jurisdictio descendit."

(227) p. 390. Testa. This evidently liberalist Italian exile distinctly admits that Lombardy's severance from the Empire was of no earlier date than Lothar's embarrassed reign.

(228) p. 392. Wolfgang Menzel, for instance.

(229) p. 392. The best German legal antiquaries, as, *e. g.*, Eichhorn, admit this foundation of the papal claim—though not the superstructure—that, when crowned emperor, and not before, the elected German monarch was supreme Head of Christendom.

(230) p. 394. Vol. i, p. 91.

(231) p. 396, Vogt.

(232) p. 396. One proof alleged for the early date, and consequent originality, of the Flemish REYNEKE FUCHS is the introduction of a married Roman Catholic priest with his legitimate wife and family, just as much as a matter of course as if he were a Protestant clergyman, whilst in French and high German versions the wife sinks to a concubine.

(233) p. 398. Raumer, Landfriede Friedrichs I. Lünig. cod. 1. Schwabenspiegel, Molino.

(234) p. 399. Tiraboschi.

(235) p. 399. Id.

(236) p. 400. Is it worth noticing that, peculiar as the Condottiere bands seem to Italy, they originated north of the Alps, in France and Lower Lorrain? Or to point out Ricotta's remark, that *feudo*, from the Teutonic *fe* or *feo* and *od* (wages and property) was the name long given in Italy to all public salaries and even grants?

(237) p. 400. The German Funcke is decidedly of opinion that, had not their title of Kings of England given them a foreign character, Henry II or Richard I, from the extent of their French possessions, must have become Kings of France.

(238) p. 400. According to Ricottâ, Frederic Barbarossa's first company of mercenaries entitled itself Figliuoli d'Arnaldo (da Brescia being of course understood); probably in proof of enmity to the Pope. This would mark Frederic's second expedition into Italy as the epoch of his first employing mercenaries.

(239) p. 401. Lord Campbell's LIVES OF THE CHANCELLORS.

(240) p. 402. If we, unlike the French, now distinguish Sire from Sir, the old English address to a monarch would seem to have been, Sir King. It is somewhat remarkable that the Germans, with all their love of titles, and strongly marked lines of severance, use the same word, *Herr*, whether addressing sovereign, knight, or tradesman. Herr Herzog, mein Herr König, and Herr Fleischer Schmidt, answer to my Lord Duke, my Lord the King, and Mr. Smith the butcher, or rather Mr. Butcher Smith.

(241) p. 404. Vol. i, pp. 37, 52; vol. ii, p. 113.

(242) p. 407. Dahlmann.

(243) p. 408. Il chargea de grands clercs de rédiger toutes les coûtumes du Hainault et de la Flandre; thus concocting a civil and a criminal code. Warnkoenig.

(244) p. 408. Hallam.

(245) p. 409. Vol. i, p. 118.

(246) p. 409. Miss Strickland.

(247) p. 411. Dante—INFERNO, C. 28. The metre requires Ré Giovanni,

not Rè giovane: "Che diede al Rè Giovanni i ma' conforti." Yet is Henry the Younger the person generally supposed to be meant by the Poet; as, indeed, he is the only one to whom the concluding incident can apply.

(248) p. 411. Michelet thus describes the poetry of the Troubadours: "Gracieuse, légere, immorale littérature, qui n'a pas connu d'autre idéal que l'amour de la femme, qui ne s'est jamais élévée à la beauté éternelle. Parfum stérile, fleur éphémère, qui se fanait d'elle même." The German Gervinus, who could fain admire them, praises the Troubadours for faithfully expressing the passions and feelings of the day. He says: "Alles was der Provenzalen äusseres Leben bewegte, spiegelt sich in ihrer Kunst. * * * Von Kriegslust, von Wetteifer, von Vassallentreue, von Ritterpflicht, singt dort Jeder." Yet this admirer of the troubadours ends with the admission, that they want variety and manhood: "Die Lyrik der Provenzalen hat nicht eben grosse Mannichfaltigkeit. * * * Von eigentlicher Männlichkeit findet sich sogar wenig."

(248*) p. 412. One of these, named Fierabras, has been published since this chapter was written.

(249) p. 413. Roquefort.

(250) p. 413. Millot.

(250*) p. 414. Wharton's HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY; Ellis's SPECIMENS OF EARLY ENGLISH ROMANCES.

(251) p. 414. Green, PRINCESSES OF ENGLAND.

(252) p. 414. Sharon Turner.

(253) p. 414. Whether the supernaturnal of these romances be Scandinavian or Oriental, is another *quæstio vexata* foreign to general history. It may, however, be allowable to suggest the possibility of its being both; *i. e.*, Scandinavian, Orientally modified by the Crusades. Northern imaginations must have been prodigiously excited by Oriental splendour, physical, visible, and ideal, revealed to the partakers of those hallowed expeditions.

(254) p. 415. Gervinus.

(255) p. 415. Warnkoenig, who quotes from Jacques de Guyse: "Fecit historias a mundi creatione, abbreviatas usque ad tempora sua, sub brevi epilogatione, recolligi et conscribi * * * quas in gallicano idiomate redigi fecit, quæ ab ipso Historiæ Balduini nuncupabantur."

(256) p. 415. Roquefort. The French critic, ascribing the original to England; whilst an Englishman, Ritson, gives that credit to France.

(257) p. 415. Sharon Turner. Marie de France does not specify which Henry, King of England; but assuredly the historian is right in thinking Henry Beauclerc a more likely translator, notwithstanding the state of the language under him, than Henry II, or his son the younger King Henry. Had Henry III, under whom, and for whose amusement, she wrote, been an English writer, she would hardly have translated his version into French for him and his Court.

His Queen, a Provençal, would have required a translation into Langue d'oc, not Langue d'oil.

(258) p. 415. Hippisley, who says the middle of the century. Rask fixes upon the year 1100, as the end of pure Anglo-Saxon.

(259) p. 417. Gervinus.

(260) p. 417. Id.

(261) p. 418. Id.

(262) p. 419. Id. French and Germans, as well as Flemings have laid claim to the THIER-EPOS in general, as well as to REYNARD THE FOX individually; and the reader who wishes to know more of the pretensions of the contending nations, without wading through the many volumes written upon this controversy, will find the arguments upon all sides collected in No. 20 of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN REVIEW.

(263) p. 419. Rauschnik.

(264) p. 420. Hasse.

(265) p. 420. Tiraboschi.

(266) p. 421. Is it worth mentioning, even in a note, as a new theory, that Testa would fain prove Italian to have been long enough cultivated as a written language to have fitted it for Dante's use, and that Italian troubadours, if not poets in the vernacular, preceded the Provençaux.

(267) p. 422. Tiraboschi. "Più succosi."

(268) p. 422. It must be added, that a Spanish author of the ratiocinative unbelieving Niebuhr school, Masdeu, in his HISTORIA CRITICA, very much doubts that the *Cid* himself ever existed. But as he seems to stand alone in this piece of incredulity, whilst Arabic authors attest his existence by execrations, it may be sufficient to mention this Historic Doubt in a note. Ticknor's HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE.

(269) p. 422. Tiraboschi.

(270) p. 423. Saxo Grammaticus, the warm eulogist of his patron, Archbishop Absalom, at whose desire he wrote his history, says of him: "Non minus piratam se quam pontificem gessit;" meaning, it is to be hoped, against, not with, pirates: unless "pirata" be Latin for "sea-king."

(271) p. 423. Dahlmann.

(272) p. 423. Baroness Blaze de Bury's GERMANIA.

(273) p. 424. Ticknor.

(274) p. 424. Hallam.

(275) p. 424. Miss Strickland.

(276) p. 424. The words quoted by Hormayr, who is the authority for this German MYSTERY, are Ludus Paschalis, sub Frederico I. Imp. de Adventu et Interitu Anti-christi in scenâ exhibitus.

(277) p. 424. Tiraboschi.

(278) p. 425. Hallam.

(279) p. 425. Karamsin.

(280) p. 426. This mention is sufficient to prove the compass then known, whilst the line given by Funcke from Gingueni, is of a date so much later as to prove nothing. "E dirizzar lo ago inver la stella," is pure Italian, and Italians then, almost without exception, wrote Latin or Provençal. Whence, perhaps, Ledru Rollin conceived the strangely unfounded idea that the invention of the mariner's compass was nearly synchronous with the discovery of America, and the Art of printing (DÉCADENCE DE L'ANGLETERRE.)

(281) p. 426. Muratori believes the Bolognese school to have been an University, A.D. 1100.

(282) p. 426. The title of Legis Doctor is found in documents of Pepin's reign; but Savigny holds it to have been then merely equivalent to *Schœffen*, and utterly irrelevant to the degree given by Universities, as attesting the highest legal knowledge; which, as before said, came into use in the second half of the twelfth century.

(283) p. 427. Hallam.

(283*) p. 428. Vol. i, p. 120.

(284) p. 428. The question, whether the style of architecture called Gothic, be of Arabic or Teutonic origin, like other antiquarian inquiries, artistic or literary, if ancillary to general history, is too subordinate to be here made a subject of investigation, even in a note. The rise of this Order of Architecture, amidst the religious enthusiasm of this warlike, and especially crusading age, is all that imports the historian of the times.

(285) p. 429. Bronikowski. The name is still less Slavonian as given by Thompson, and in Murray's Handbook, to wit, Falckner. Unfortunately this first St. Stephen's was accidentally burnt, and only two of its towers were saved to form part of its successor.

(286) p. 430. Probably Mr. Curzon's description of the Vatopede Monastery upon Mount Athos, governed by an Abbot, an actual prince, with his ecclesiastical Court, built round courts, its church safe in the centre of one of them; inhabited by 300 monks, and accommodating 500 guests; gives a fair idea of a Mediæval Abbey, or Preceptory.

(287) p. 431. An extract made in Germany, neglecting to note the author.

(288) p. 432. Rumohr.

(289) p. 432. Vol. i, p. 124.

(290) p. 433. The idea, that the Arabs were thus early acquainted with gunpowder as an implement of war, is by Reinaud and Favé supposed to be a mistake, arising from contemporary descriptions of the effects of the burning naphtha which it was then the practice to throw amongst their enemies.

(291) p. 433. Dahlmann.

(292) p. 434. Humboldt's KOSMOS.

(293) p. 434. Berrington.

(294) p. 438. Mills, in his HISTORY OF CHIVALRY, says that once, and only once, Cours d'Amour were introduced into Germany; but he does not give his authority, and other mention of them, out of France, the Author has vainly sought.

(295) p. 439. Michelet.

(296) p. 439. In the nineteenth century to plead in behalf of cruelty seems unnatural, but, in sooth, it can hardly be disputed that tenderness towards an enemy—might it not be said, tenderness of others' feelings?—is the slowest developed of all human qualities. Children delight in torturing animals—and for enemies! All know the horrible desolation of the Palatinate by Turenne, in Lewis XIV's youth; the horrible treatment of the Huguenots in his old age: and, according to Miss Strickland, his great rival, William III, at the siege of Limerick, being asked what was to be done with the prisoners, answered: "Burn them!" Whereupon, whether he meant it or merely uttered an idle ejaculation of impatience at being troubled about prisoners, 1000 human beings were burnt to death.

(297) p. 442. Warnkönig.

(298) p. 443. Vogt.

(299) p. 448. Hurter; who, upon the authority of Eusebius, says that a Pope was, in like manner, recommended by a dove, in the third century.

(300) p. 450. "Inn^{t}: III Epistola. Porrò sicut luna lumen suum a sole sortitur, quæ revera minor est illo quantitate simul et qualitate, situ pariter et effectu, sic regalis potestas ab auctoritate pontificale suæ sortitur dignitatis splendorem, cujus conspectui quanto magis inhæret, tanto minori lumine decoratur; quo plus ab ejus elongatur aspectu, eo plus proficit in splendorem."

(301) p. 450. To increase the resemblance between the two Popes, the credit of authorship has been claimed for Gregory VII, as the writer of a Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Matthew and an Expounding of the Seven Penitential Psalms. But in the first treatise is a quotation from St. Bernard, who was unborn when Gregory died; and the second is more commonly believed the work of his predecessor Gregory the Great. The arrangement of the several services of the Roman Church in the Breviary, as still in use, seems to be all he can really claim of the kind.

(302) p. 450. Hurter, Innocent. DE CONTEMTU MUNDI, SIVE DE MISERIA HUMANÆ CONDITIONIS.

(303) p. 451. Id. "Inn^{t}. Veri Dei vices gerit in terra," I, 302, 326, 335, xi, 89.

(304) p. 456. Muratori treats this Will as genuine; saying that it was found amongst Markwald's papers, when, in a defeat, his baggage was taken;

and disregarding, apparently, the strong internal evidence against its genuineness, in its glaring contradiction to the supposed testator's whole conduct and known sentiments, and the almost equally strong external evidence to the same effect; to wit, that the ambitious, restless Markwald never, according to Muratori's statement, produced the document investing him with the regency, even when the Empress, as Regent, banished him from the kingdom. It does not appear to have been produced upon the provocation of banishment, nor yet later, when the death of Constance offered a fair opportunity to advance his pretensions; nor yet earlier, when its language and bequests might have facilitated the negotiations for the Christian burial of the supposed testator, certainly the benefactor of the supposed legatee; but is withheld until accidentally found. This paper may, however, not improbably be the ground upon which the allegation rests, that Henry had, before his death, purchased absolution, and the recognition of his son as his successor, from the Pope.

(305) p. 461. The date of Otho Earl or Duke of Burgundy's death is sometimes placed later. But it seems doubtful; and, had he been alive, that both Henry and the Diet should pass him by—Henry to heap Swabia, Franconian fiefs, Tuscany, and two regencies, upon the younger brother, the Diet to elect him—would be so strange as to need explanation. The earlier date of his death has, therefore, been preferred.

(306) p. 468. Pfister.

(307) p. 474. Luden.

(308) p. 478. Fessler; Hurter, DECRETALES.

(309) p. 483. Baronius.

(310) p. 485. Raumer, Pfister, Tiraboschi, quoting Raynald. Annal. Eccl., Chron. Ursperg. The arguments against such an offer having been made, are, that it had no result; that no notice of it appears in Innocent's Epistles; and that Philip's two unaffianced daughters were mere babies, one actually in arms. To which it is answered, that such an offer would of course be made privately, and therefore, if it had no result, would never appear in the public negotiation or correspondence; and that the infancy of the proposed bride would no more be an obstacle, than the childhood of her sisters had been to a matrimonial treaty altogether political; although, joined to the early death of Philip, it might sufficiently account for the failure of result. It is difficult to find any grounds upon which to form an opinion; nor is this the only perplexity caused to historians, by Philip's daughters.

(311) p. 485. Baronius.

(312) p. 486. Innocent's proposal of this marriage is no argument against his having received and liked the offer of one of Philip's daughters for his nephew. There was still a little princess in arms to bring the Matildan

heritage into the Segni family, and there was reason to expect ere long another prince or princess.

(313) p. 488. The feelings and opinions of German Ghibelines upon the subject may be exemplified by the following lines of Walther von der Vogelweide, one of the most admired poets of the thirteenth century; Englished in metre emulating the freedom of the original:—

"How Christianly, in Rome, the Pope laughs loud and high
To his Italians, saying, 'See my dexterity!'
(That which he now is saying were better far unthought.)
'Two German lubbers I under one hood have brought,
The Empire let them burthen, and rack with many an ill
Our empty coffers whilst so quietly we fill.
My tributaries they, and all they have is mine;
To my good strong box comes their German silver fine.
Then feast on chickens, priests, quaff of good wine your fill;
Let Germans fast!—if fast they will.'"

(314) p. 491. Böttiger, Luden, Hurter, Godrf. Mon., Chron. Ursp.; Raumer, Otto S. Blas.

(315) p. 493. The arguer away of received historical facts, Luden, represents the regicide as a mere accident, the Palsgrave really at play, the Bishop so frightened at the brandished sword that the King and the Sewer interfered, and that awkwardly; whence the accidental wound—a conjecture too idle for the text, though, in deference to Luden's reputation, not to be altogether omitted. Vogt adopts the story of the letter, speaks of it as having just occurred, and as nearly a justification of the murder; adding the remark, that Philip's career was almost uninterruptedly successful, until he broke his promise to Otho von Wittelsbach, and gave him a Uriah-letter for Poland: as though hindering a somewhat brutal warrior from obtaining an unknown, unseen bride, were tantamount to ordering his death. Wolf changes the scene of the catastrophe to an imperial palace in Bamberg, which would no otherwise affect the story than as taking away all conceivable motive for the flight of the Andechs brothers, if innocent; as, unless proved guilty, they must be supposed, not only by English law, but from their position relative to Philip. Pfister, who holds them guilty, gives Otho a band of ten men, waiting for him at the door; and quotes from Cardinal Ugolino's report to the Pope, that the murderer fled to the Bishop. If he did, that certainly might terrify a timid man, as bringing suspicion upon him. But it must be observed that the Cardinal was not then upon the spot, being still upon the road from Rome; and in his report, as given by Baronius, he seems to have accredited every rumour he met with: *e.g.*, he states that Palsgrave Otho, after knocking at the door, entered the room accompanied by the Duke of Bavaria, the Mar-

grave of Istria, and ten armed men. Hormayr acquits the Bishop, but holds the Margrave guilty. It is, however, possible, that the brothers might have previously plotted with Otho—though hardly in resentment for his loss of their niece—have changed their mind upon their eldest brother's marriage, and have fancied the scheme equally given up by him; but, upon its unexpected perpetration in the episcopal palace, have fled, fearing that their previous conspiracy would be detected.

ERRATA.

Page 173, lines 5 and 7, *for* "dissentions" *read* "dissensions."
„ 185, line 11, *for* "Antioch" *read* "Antiochæan."
„ 254, line 10, *for* "1189" *read* "1188;" and top line of pp. 56, 58, 60, 62, and 64.
„ 446, line 5, insert "Double Election."

Chronological Table of the Popes, Emperors, and Kings of Sicily, Jerusalem, France, and England, from the extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty in Germany, A. D. 911 *to* A. D. 1269.

Dates of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Kings of Sicily.	Kings of Jerusalem.	Kings of France.	Kings of England.
911	Anastasius III	...	...	...	Charles IV	Edward the Elder.
	...	Conrad I (a Franconian)	...	...	...	...
913	Landonius	...	...	...	...	...
914	John X	...	...	...	...	...
		[Saxon dynasty.]			...	...
919	...	Henry	...	...	Rodolphe	...
924	...	...	...	...	...	Athelstan
925	...	...	...	...	...	...
928	Leo VI	...	...	...	...	...
929	Stephen VII	...	...	...	...	...
931	John XI	...	...	...	Lewis IV	...
936	Leo VII	Otho I	...	...	...	...
939	Stephen VIII	...	...	...	...	Edmund
941	...	...	...	...	...	...
942	Martin III	...	...	...	...	Edred
946	Agapetus II	...	...	...	Lothar	...
954	...	...	...	...	...	Edwy
955	...	...	...	...	...	...
956	John XII	...	...	...	...	Edgar
959	...	...	...	...	...	...
964	Leo VIII	...	...	...	...	...
965	John XIII	...	...	...	...	...
972	Benedict VI	...	...	...	...	...

973	...	Otho II	...	...	...	...
974	Domnus II	...	...	...	...	...
975	Benedict VII	...	...	...	...	Edward the Martyr
978	...	...	...	...	...	Ethelred
983	John XIV	Otho III	...	...	...	...
985	John XV & XVI	...	...	...	...	...
986	...	...	...	...	Lewis V	...
987	...	...	...	...	Hugh Capet	...
996	Gregory V	...	...	...	...	...
997	...	...	...	...	Robert	...
999	Sylvester II	...	...	...	...	...
1000	...	Henry II	...	...	...	...
1003	John XVII & XVIII	...	...	...	...	...
1009	Sergius IV	...	...	...	...	...
1012	Benedict VIII	...	...	...	...	...
1016	...	...	...	...	...	Edmund Ironsides
1017	...	...	...	...	...	Canute
		[FRANCONIAN DYNASTY.]				
1024	John XIX	Conrad II	...	...	...	...
1031	...	...	...	...	Henry I	...
1033	Benedict IX	...	...	...	...	...
1035	...	...	...	...	...	Harold Harefoot
1039	...	Henry III	...	...	...	Hardicanute
1041	...	...	...	...	...	Edward the Confessor
1046	Gregory VI	...	...	...	...	...
1047	Clement II	...	...	...	...	...
1048	Damasus II	...	...	...	...	...
1049	Leo IX	...	...	...	...	...
1055	Victor II	...	...	...	...	...
1056	...	Henry IV	...	...	...	...
1057	Stephen IX	...	...	...	...	...

Chronological Table—continued.

Dates of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Kings of Sicily.	Kings of Jerusalem.	Kings of France.	Kings of England.
1058	Nicolas II	...	...	...	...	...
1060	...	...	...	...	Philip I	...
1061	Alexander II	...	...	...	...	...
1066	...	...	...	...	...	Harold and William the Conqueror
1071	...	...	Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia	...	...	...
1073	Gregory VII	...	...	...	...	...
1086	Victor III	...	...	...	...	...
1087	...	...	...	...	...	William II
1088	Urban II	...	...	...	...	...
1089	...	...	Roger Earl of Sicily	...	...	...
1099	Pascal II	...	...	Godfrey of Bouillon takes Jerusalem	...	...
1100	...	...	...	Baldwin I	...	Henry I
1101	...	...	Roger II,	...	...	...
1106	...	Henry V	...	...	...	...
1108	...	...	...	...	Lewis VI	...
1118	Gelasius II	...	...	Baldwin II	...	...
1119	Calixtus II	...	..	...	...	...
1124	Honorius II	Lothar II	...	...	...	...
1127	...	...	inherets Apulia	...	...	...
1130	Innocent II	...	King	...	...	...
1131	...	...	...	Fulk and Melisenda	...	...
1135	...	...	...	...	...	Stephen
1137	...	...	...	...	Lewis VII	...

		[Swabian dynasty]				
1138	...	Conrad III	...	...	...	...
1143	Celestin II	...	...	Melisenda and Baldwin III	...	...
1144	Lucius II	...	...	...	...	...
1145	Eugenius III	...	...	...	...	...
1150	Anastasius IV	...	...	...	...	...
1152	...	Frederic I	...	...	...	...
1154	Adrian	...	William I	...	...	Henry II
1159	Alexander III	...	...	...	...	...
1162	...	...	...	Amalric	...	...
1166	...	...	William II	...	...	...
1173	...	...	...	Baldwin IV	...	...
1180	...	...	...	...	Philip II	...
1181	Lucius III	...	...	...	...	...
1185	Urban III	...	...	Baldwin V	...	...
1186	...	...	...	Sibylla and Guy	...	...
1187	Gregory VIII	...	...	...	...	...
	Clement III					
1189	...	...	Tancred	...	...	Richard I
1190	...	Henry VI	...	...	...	...
1191	Celestin III	...	...	...	...	...
1192	...	...	...	Isabel with Conrad, then Henry	...	...
1194	...	...	Henry and Constance	...	...	...
1197	...	Philip and Otho	Frederic	Isabel & Amalric II	...	...
1198	Innocent III	...	...	...	...	...
1199	...	...	...	...	...	John
1205	...	...	...	Maria Yolanthe.	...	...
1210	...	...	...	withJohn de Brienne	...	...
1212	...	Frederic II	...	John with Yolanthe	...	...
1216	Honorius III	...	...	...	...	Henry III

Chronological Table—continued.

Dates of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Kings of Sicily.	Kings of Jerusalem.	Kings of France.	Kings of England.
1223	...	...	...	...	Lewis VIII	...
1226	...	...	...	...	Lewis IX	...
1227	Gregory IX	...	...	...	...	...
1228	...	...	...	Frederic and Conrad	...	...
1241	Celestin IV	...	...	...	...	...
1243	Innocent IV	...	...	...	...	...
1250	...	Conrad IV	Conrad IV	Conrad IV	...	...
1254	Alexander IV	William of Holland	Conradin	Conradin	...	...
1256	...	Richard and Alfonso	...	...	...	...
1258	...	...	Manfred	...	...	...
1261	Urban IV	...	...	...	...	...
1264	Clement IV	...	...	...	...	...
1266	...	...	Charles of Anjou	...	...	...
1268	...	...	...	Hugh de Lusignan, descended from Isabel's second daughter	...	...
1269	See vacant	Interregnum	...	...	...	...

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